

T/SOR/1/5/18



# Fifth estate

FIFTH ESTATE NEW ADDRESS

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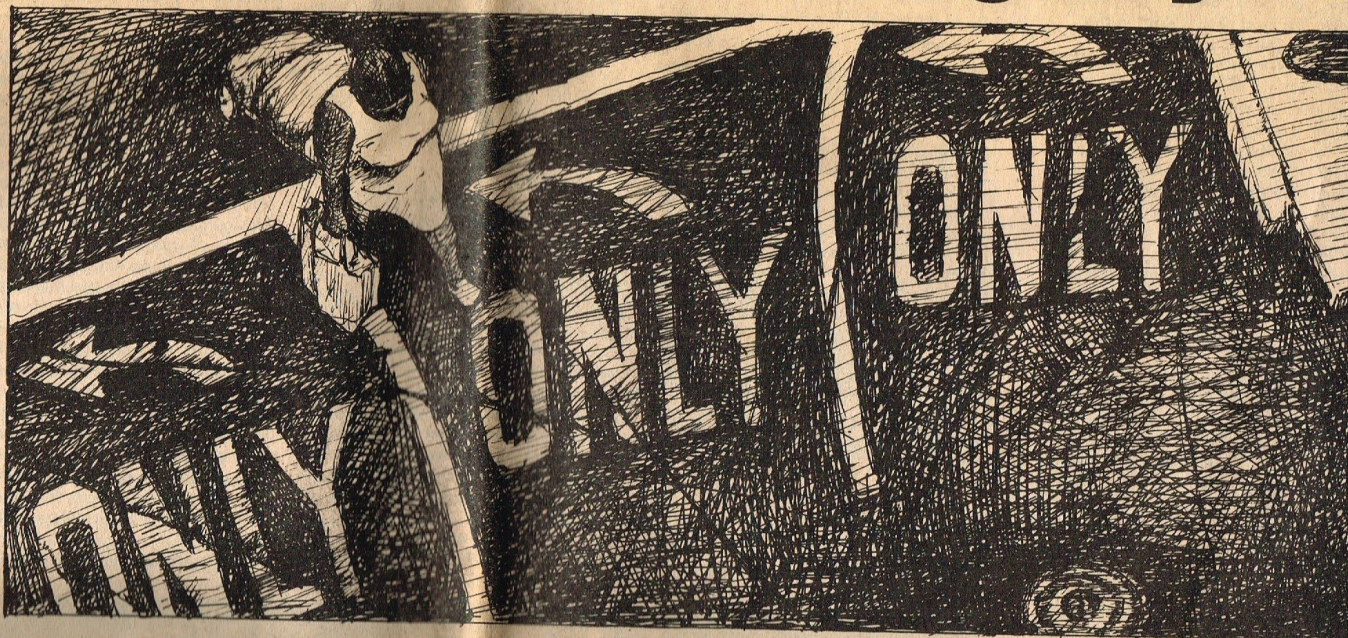
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LIVING IN A CITY ALREADY BOMBED

## DETROIT — High Tech and the Widening Gyre

For us, here in inner-city Detroit, the crumbling of a "progress" oriented society is very real and present. Its tangible effects are concentrated here. Its evidence—ragged empty shells of concrete, lining streets leading to their untimely ends, amputated by expressways or isolated corporate megaliths, the occasional pathetic charades of well-being, the razed and desolate spaces—pervades everything we do, even attempts to distract ourselves from the ruin. Everyone living here is profoundly aware of the failure. It is bred in our bones, as during our lives we've witnessed, not just this city's demise, but the cumulative result of misdeeds performed through history by an increasingly urban society impelled by a limitless want of power brought to self-destruction.

Visually and psychologically, this is a city already bombed. Any sense of place or community it had or has to offer has been and is being destroyed on a continuing basis. The arbitrary imposition of expressways and huge commercial complexes, like the new G.M. plant that was once Poletown, fragment or wipe out entire neighborhoods and their long pasts (and this, always under the aegis of benevolent motives for residents, but ultimately to benefit those who finance the plans, and whose life's experience is not invested here) leaving those who remain wandering, disoriented, in an absurd and foreign landscape, always breathing the dust of demolition. Maybe this is why when recently during tornado sightings, for the first time in decades, air raid sirens sounded through downtown Detroit, it was observed (granted, with no surprise) that no one responded. A sense of personal identification with a place instills a feeling of care and responsibility for its continuation and well-being. A loss or lack of identification not only annuls this responsibility for place, but also profoundly undercuts



akin to Error eating her children only makes the process more horrible.

Those most liable for this latest condition of collapse, the corporate and technological elite (though their control over the outcome of things is illusory,

core of downtown Detroit. This includes many old homes and buildings housing the old and poor as well as long-time residents, for years resisting dispersal to maintain continuity in their lives. The reason, of course, for the secretive nature of the plan is to avoid

have through pervasive corporate media propaganda, taken on the mythic dimensions of divine omnipotence and ultimate salvation from what is popularly misunderstood to be merely the country's economic woes rather than the historic legacy of a century-long



responsibility for its continuation and well-being. A loss or lack of identification not only annuls this responsibility for place, but also profoundly undercuts our feeling of personal strength and protective influence over our environment and the lives of those that inhabit it. Ourselves, our lives.

#### The Antithesis of Human Interaction

This is not to defend Urbanism as manifested in the U.S. and many western countries—cities built out of the lifeless impetus of endless profit, the antithesis of human interaction and interdependence which would unify a healthy urban center. The communities that grew in Detroit did so despite the nature of its development and expansion, not because of it. But the fact that the destruction we are seeing is something

lapse, the corporate and technological elite (though their control over the outcome of things is illusory, at best) find more benign and reassuring names for it: "Transitional period" it is often called. And so by redefining, by remote control of microphones and TV sets, the reality we experience daily, they pave the way for a whole new technological dimension of exploitation, waste, and irrevocable loss.

Thus there has recently come to dim light in Detroit (via a local investigative TV newscast and a couple of articles in Wayne State University's newspaper) a little known plan to establish an expansive complex of technological investigation and promotion to be called the "Hi-Tech Crescent", of which nothing in particular is known, except that its imposition would entail the wholesale leveling of what is left around the central

maintain continuity in their lives. The reason, of course, for the secretive nature of the plan is to avoid political opposition to such a thing. As it stands now though, it seems they needn't go to great lengths of concealment. Despite the one newscast and small reports, neither of the major local papers has carried any information of the plans, the result being that, as with the air raid sirens, it has been observed that among the general populace, no one has responded.

#### The Scientific Myth

There is reason for this passivity and/or acceptance besides the general sense of groundlessness and defeat among what's left of the population; one perhaps more significant and dangerous. That is in the nature of what's in the works. Science and technological research

misunderstood to be merely the country's economic woes rather than the historic legacy of a culture long prompted by the accumulation of power, the very motive which underlies this latest mode of deliverance and all its sacrificial offerings. The *Detroit News* and *Detroit Free Press* now regularly carry special science sections with much space devoted to celebrating new "advances" in the realm of computers and "robotics" (of which, it is lately publicized, Detroit will soon be the productive Mecca) in contrast with business and new industry. David Adamany, new president of Detroit's Wayne State University, is actively promoting a symbiotic union between the school's science department and big business and industry. In a recent address

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Judgment Day at the Stock Exchange. drawing/Stephen Goodfellow

## WORLD-WIDE CRISIS Is The Recovery Really Here?

When an economic system produces 32 million unemployed in the industrialized nations, it would almost seem unnecessary to inveigh against its profound inadequacies. But several factors make it worthwhile to look at the present state of disarray in which world capitalism is currently mired.

Although some wag (either a queen, Marx or the Bible) once said that the poor have always been with us, most people know by now that this is a culture-bound observation and no more than a justification for the privilege of society's wealthy. However, the saying is nonetheless true for the modern world.

Since the advent of industrial capitalism 200 years ago, indeed, the poor and unemployed have been with us as permanent institutions, something realized under no previous social system. Capitalism has *never* "worked" in the sense that the majority of people under its rule have experienced a stable, happy and prosperous existence. Rather, its history is one of travail—cruel work when available, unforeseen economic collapses, each taking an immense human toll, wars, famine, psychological misery and on into the modern epoch where its historic calamities are joined by the menace of ecological collapse and planet-wide nuclear holocaust.

#### Capitalism At The Apex of Its Rule

Capitalism has maintained its life by force, its midwife at birth, but equally by habit—the substitution of its pervasive culture for the other modes of living it has smashed or ruined. Today, whatever the condition of its economy, it stands at the apex of its rule in a cultural sense by presiding over the "tyranny of the fact." Capitalism has evolved to a state in which its material and cultural structures appear to dominate the entire spectrum of possibilities—no matter how badly it functions, nothing else seems possible.

Capital's traditional opposition, the workers' movement, went into eclipse some 40 years ago, and nothing, save small pockets of resistance, now exist to challenge its rule. Marxists and neo-marxists of the

ICC stripe who envision capital's imminent collapse of its own weight are whistling in the dark. (Before this is construed, like much of Camatte's writing, as "pessimistic," let it be said one does best with a clear assessment of reality rather than foolish cries of "Hurrah, the workers are starving, the revolution will be here soon." If the human spirit is, indeed, in its final phase of destruction, let its announcement act as a challenge to us, not as a reason to be *more* passive.)

#### Is The "Recovery" Real?

After four years of world-wide recession marked by high unemployment, runaway inflation, and staggering national debts, the capitalist nations have used the occasion of a slight upturn in the downward cycle to announce that a recovery is upon us. The media pundits have responded accordingly and cite dropping inflation, and a slight rise in the Gross National Product (GNP), real income, housing starts, etc. believing that the problem is in large part psychological or attitudinal—that is, if everyone believes there is a recovery, there will be one.

Well, bad news for everybody—the problems are world-wide and deeply systemic and the "good news" approach on one hand coupled with harsh austerity programs from the likes of Thatcher and Reagan on the other do no more than shift the burden that much heavier on to the working class and the poor.

Certainly inflation drops with tens of millions unemployed, but what we are looking at is a picture of permanent crisis for capitalism. Crisis is, of course, nothing new for capitalism which has been on a constant cycle of boom and bust since its inception, but by the late 1890's, the crises had begun to occur with such frequency and such severity that even the capitalists feared a complete collapse was at hand. The development of colonies and foreign markets staved off what seemed to be the inevitable at the turn of the

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# Letters to the Fifth Estate

## Expanded Sexuality

### Fifth Estate:

The debate on sex; the burning of Porno Palaces, etc. was quite amusing. Last issue's letter writer fumed over the actions of the Wimmin's Fire Brigade who stated with alarming urgency—"the struggle for universal sexual freedom ought to be a top priority among anti-authoritarians." (See *FE Spring 1983*)

The Fifth Estate deserves part of the blame for this person's fearful palpitations, your bookstores still carry Wilhelm Reich, the most likely culprit in this devotee's obsessed frenzy.

It is well known that humans are the only creatures that have jobs and exist in such desensitized conditions. Excepting certain insects.

Human sexuality is polymorphous in origin. Children find no separation between their psycho/physical realms. The word "sexuality" implies a category distinct from spirituality, from productivity, all the alienated categories. The exquisite multisensual relationship with nature, the almost infinite expressions of wonder and pleasure in our lives as in nature are reduced to slotted moments of genital release.

The very essence of maturity in this society, of adulthood, is the reduction of playtime. We renounce our bodies for the serious pursuits of knowledge and/or employment. We bust ass and postpone gratification in order to function as productive members of society. Our reward, our raison d'être: sex! Wow. To think that all my life is supposed to fit in that one little hole!

The Wimmin's was right: burn, baby, burn. They did not, as the letter writer stammered, "Indiscriminately destroy media which depicts healthy human sexuality." Such media would require a few light years of space for even a momentary glance. Indeed, by definition such a depiction could never exist. A truly erotic society would not have mass media.

## Sardonic Wit

### Dear FE:

Volume 18, Number 1 is my first taste of your paper, and I love it. The "Tool of the Year" article is filled with long, vague, abstract terms, but the idea is right on target. I also read "Money, Money, Money," "Pentagon War Plans" and a few other things already and my impression is that FE's articles are not so strong in the area of persuasion, but since I'm already in agreement for the most part, I find it very interesting to see what's on the minds of my peers. I also like the fact that FE has specific contemporary themes (newslike). I do suggest that the authors steer away from verbosity, though.

The ad on the back page is great! I think that sardonic wit is a very important element of an anarchist newspaper. That ad really sets your paper apart from the few others that I have seen.

I'm with you,  
Brian Grimm  
Pasadena CA

## RASCAL Report

### To the FE:

Greetings from RASCAL. . . It's been quite a while since we last heard from you. Happy 17th birthday! Make it 17 more.

Some local news. . . We recently showed the film "Anarchism in America." The turnout was good, qualitatively as well as quantitatively. About 75 people attended 3 showings, which is above average for this town. What was most encouraging however were the new faces in the crowd. . . not the usual handful of lefties that drag themselves to every political function in this area.

It was a good mix of local rascals, punx, tofu farmers, hippies, and assorted anti-authoritarians, with a few professors and other curiosity seekers thrown in. And of course we were hassled by a couple of the pseudo-authority figures at the university, asking if our papers were in order, etc.

We sold a lot of buttons and gave away old (and new) FE's. But we were somewhat disappointed with the film, particularly its overemphasis on (what they in-

terpreted as) "individualism" and american anarchism; and its omissions (Mexico and Canada are also "in America," and there was no mention of the wobs, Haymarket, recent anarchist attempts at federation, etc.) I agree with a fellow rascal that the film would have been better if the Dead Kennedys had done more of the talking and Bookchin had sung a song at the end!

Other activities: we are working with a local club, the Underground R.R., to host a Rock against Reagan benefit. The group Millions of Dead Cops will be playing, with some local bands. Also, we're trying to organize an Anarchist Association of the Americas conference here in the fall.

Well, that's all of the news from the mountain state. Please keep in touch.

Another Rascal,  
Morgantown, W. Va.

## For New Forms

### Dear Comrades:

The piece "A Family Quarrel" is just great—not the most magnificent piece of theory ever or anything like that but so many lefties are so hung up on ultra-individualism and on thinking of people as atoms unconnected to one another. I don't support the nuclear family, which is, after all, an oppressive institution, but people cannot become happy healthy adults without some sort of family—a group who make an unqualified commitment to love them and help them grow up to become capable of loving and raising children in their turn.

The destruction of all institutions that stand between the atomized individual and the State is surely not a thing lefties should encourage, but something we should fight.

We must build new forms of family but we've got to recognize that human life is also animal life—we can't make up these intellectual constructs in the absence of experience and especially body experience, and expect happy healthy people to result. (Luckily, only the lefties are so committed to trashing the family that they might be doing some children harm. Everyone else has more sense.)

I want a return to the tribe!

Sam Wagar  
Toronto, Ontario

## Dubious History

### Dear Fifth Estate:

I would like to offer some comments on your Spring 1983 issue. I am aware of your sweeping anti-technological views, though I do not entirely agree with them. I was not a reader of the FE at the time you first formulated those views, so I am not aware of all the thinking that went into their formation. So, excuse me if some of what I say is old hat.

In his article, "A Family Quarrel," in which he discusses Jean Elshtain's writings on the family, Bob Brubaker mentions Ivan Illich's book *Shadow Work*, and quotes approvingly his thesis that women's oppression dates from the rise of capitalism. Not only is this dubious history, but, as his most recent book *Gender* makes clear, the hidden ideological thrust of such a position is to call for a return to the allegedly "separate but equal" state of affairs when each sex enjoyed "dignity" in its respective station (in accordance with its specific biological "nature").

While the situation may have been aggravated by capitalism, the restriction of women to the household economy, and the devaluation of this "private" sphere vis-a-vis the public "political" sphere of men, began long ago. Indeed, back in your beloved "primitive" society. As Lynn Clive notes in her review of *The House of Obedience* (FE Spring 1983), in pre-Islamic Arabia "women were treated as chattels, to be bought and sold or inherited." The practice of clitorectomies also dates from that period.

All of which is a roundabout way of making the following point: we must combine our critique of technocracy with a critique of scarcity. You do not ever mention Murray Bookchin, so I do not know what if any antipathy you may feel towards him, but I think he is one of the few thinkers who does this. On one hand, he criticizes technocracy—a state of mind as much as a set of techniques—for destroying our bond with nature and undermining genuine forms of human community, and, on the other hand, he points out that, to quote Marx, "Without (a material basis of abundance) want is generalized, and with want the struggle for necessities and all the old shit would necessarily be reproduced."

We have to ask ourselves: why did hi-

erarchical society develop? Its roots must have existed in tribal society. My view (and perhaps these "antiquated" views have already been sufficiently exploded and require no refutation) is that the insecurity of material existence nourished the values of efficiency and delegation of authority—all of which were bound to lead to class division. Now, I am not unaware that hunting and gathering societies have been designated as the first "post-scarcity" societies. But their lifestyles were based on an extremely low population density, and, with a growth of population, the possibility of making a living in the old way was destroyed. Consequently, tribal peoples were forced to adopt more technologically intensive (and more exploitative of nature, I might add) production.

Today, obviously, there's no way you could support four billion people with hunting and gathering techniques. I quite agree with you that we need to destroy centralized economic and political structures, and get back to human scale decision making, and community intercourse constitute our paramount concerns. But to do that does not require junking all technology.

As Murray Bookchin points out, new alternative technologies exist that could both minimize toil as well as reharmonize our relationship to nature and to one another. Contrary to Bob Brubaker, we cannot follow "that river called *Progress*" all the way back "to its source." Like it or not, people have discovered the realm of "freedom" (albeit in grossly distorted form), and capitalism's ability to retain the loyalty of its subjects lies largely in its ability to tap this aspiration.

Are we to be like the Weathermen of a decade ago—telling people to prepare for a revolution of sacrifice in which our days are consumed in drab, never-ending toil? I am not suggesting, as Marx did, that the "realm of necessity" (i.e. work) must always remain hateful. Properly integrated into a satisfying existence, work can be an extremely important source of joy and self-realization. But work involves responsibility, and too much work (and hence, too much responsibility) kills spontaneity as surely as anything will. We have to have a balance between the two. Therein lies the secret to a happy existence.

True, as you suggest in your "Notes on 'Soft Tech,'" appropriate technology can be just as authoritarian and soulless as any other sort. The key thing, as you say later on, is to recapture control over our daily lives. But once that is done—so long as we operate on the basis of a clearly ecological and humane ethic (which would include adopting only those technologies which could be understood and handled by all)—I see no reason why we could not experiment with various soft technologies





any gender model, by definition, such a depiction could never exist. A truly erotic society would not have mass media.

What finally drove Reich crazy was his inability to recognize his sexual liberation for the quantitative liberation it could only be. Centered in genitalia, or even (giving him the benefit of a doubt) in his various orgone infested limbs, he could not be free. Infantile sexuality, our original endowment, is indeed repressed, and needs liberation. Infantile sexuality, though not necessarily preclusive, is NOT OF THE GENITAL KIND!

Expanded sexuality is more in the nature of a unified existence within the multiple freely flowing energies of unharnessed, undirected time, and all that it contains in a given moment. Dig it, qualitatively liberated sexuality is nothing more or less than SPONTANEITY.

Indeed, your so-called erotica enforces our captivity. As the dominant image of our "sexuality" (words fail this argument) ersatz erotica is false hope; a bribe, a banana in a box for a monkey, an extremely pleasurable delusion, panacea, placebo, palpitating juke box until you run out of quarters.

I agree that genital sex should be the sole responsibility of individuals. It too should be freed, such as it were. Ditto drugs, volleyball, firebombs. To confine sexuality to lovemaking is precisely what a dictator would plan for you, as both the carrot and the stick. To me, that is a violence to which all other images quaver. Burn.

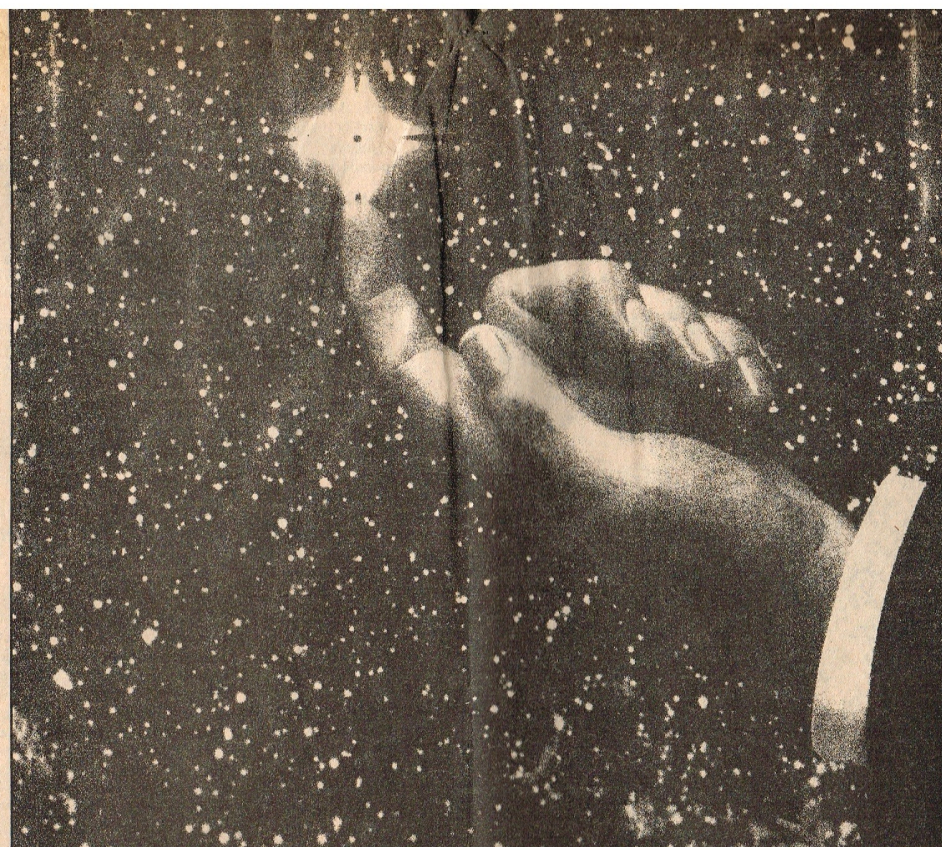
Raticus

## fifth estate

The Fifth Estate is a co-operative project, published by a group of friends who are in general, but not necessarily complete agreement with the articles herein. Each segment of the paper represents the collective effort of writing, typesetting, lay-out and proofreading.



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Technology. We know that it offers no evidence whatsoever of having any sympathy for the nature of the world, and has nothing to do with human desires for an earth on which to dwell.

We're the people who create it, perfect it and make it part of the American dream. We bring you the computer, which touches all our lives in ways we can hardly begin to imagine. And who can say what lies ahead?

Let us take you along. Surrender to the pressure to play video games. Help us realize alienated humanity's dream of nature completely tamed. Remember: you too may soon have your own computer!

Our project is the complete isolation of people from the earth and their reduction to a uniform, disciplined workforce. The universal language of the machine is now carrying us toward a global network of cybernetic planning. As more animal species and tribal languages are extinguished each year, look forward to new, more exciting video adventures!

To those who say that the planet is being destroyed, that our gleaming plans rest upon slavery in the mines, factories and offices, that the computer replaces living speech with an ugly, impoverished language, we answer: you will not stay away from us for long.

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We understand how important it is to program your desires.

Anti-Authoritarianism Anonymous, P.O. Box 11331 Eugene, OR 97440

which could be understood and handled by all)—I see no reason why we could not experiment with various soft technologies in an effort to lighten our time spent in labour.

Jazz musicians of the early '60's were scornful of the attempt to use electrified musical instruments. Today, only a dinosaur would refuse to see beauty in the creations wrought by amplified instruments. Today, we are confronted with a barrage of computer music. Despite it as I do, I am not so dogmatic that I cannot recognize that musicians such as Clive Robertson and Talking Heads have done humane things with electronics. There is an interpenetration between means and ends. They are not absolutely static poles.

I want to live a creative life in which I can be a writer in the morning, a herdsman in the afternoon, and a musician after dinner. What do you want?

Ron Hayley  
Toronto

*Bob B. responds: Our pro-technology critics almost invariably delight in pointing out how absurd we are to imagine that four billion people could be sustained by hunting and gathering. The dismal increase in our planet's human population does not, however, induce in them a sense of caution, humility, or despair; on the contrary, this fact is usually cited as the prelude to an optimistic panegyric to technology, or as in this case, to a confident lesson about the proper admixture of freedom and responsibility in utopia.*

*Our admonishers demonstrate not so much that our thinking is myopic as that radicals are often unable to think outside the context of a "program." It seems astonishing to have to say this, but we are not the "primitivist party"; we have no program calling for a return to a hunter-gatherer existence. This does not, however, mean that we should ignore the critique a primitive mode of existence poses to our moribund way of life, or that we should fail to incorporate features of that existence into our lives in whatever ways we can.*

*For the same reason, Ron is wrong to say that Illich or I contend that women's oppression dates from the rise of capitalism, or that there is a hidden ideological thrust in Illich calling for a return to separate, but mutual and interdependent, roles for men and women (any more than to appreciate the significance of the Luddite rising against the factory system is to advocate the "putting out" method of production practiced by the British weavers). But if we want to understand how completely women have been disempowered by industrial capitalism, or how in the past they were full (if less than fully equal) participants in community life, then we might find something to learn from Illich. I think it is much more*

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## Anarchist Resister Charged in Italy

Resistance to the draft is happening around the world. The Fifth Estate recently received information from the editors of "A" Rivista Anarchica about Mauro Zanoni, a 20-year-old anarchist who was arrested February 13, 1983 in the "Pavia" di Pesaro, Italy army barracks for his total refusal to cooperate with the military. Zanoni had been scheduled to report four months earlier to fulfill the one-year military "service" required of all Italian men.

In 1972, however, the government had enacted a law allowing those who were conscientious objectors to the military to fulfill their legal requirement by a so-called "civil service". This allows the potential draftee to serve his time in a civilian institution such as a hospital or library. This status is not granted automatically and is granted by a military commission which has been refusing more and more requests for it in recent years. The term of the alternative service is two years and was created originally to muzzle the growing Italian anti-draft movement of the late '60's and early '70's.

Zanoni decided not to request civil service since it too is under the jurisdiction of the military and at a Congress in Milano in September 1982 commemorating the death of Errico Malatesta (see photo) declared his refusal to cooperate with either "service" required by the

State.

In the months between the Congress and his arrest, Zanoni devoted all of his efforts to anti-military and anarchist activity. His case gathered considerable support and on February 12 at Milano's Christallo cinema, Zanoni publicly ripped up his draft card in front of an anti-military meeting attended by 500 people. He again stated his reasons for refusing to cooperate with the military.

The next day Zanoni was arrested at the "Pavia" barracks and imprisoned in the Peschiera del Garda in Verona. The legal process was expected to take several months and should be occurring as this is being written. It could result in a year's imprisonment for Zanoni.

The Zanoni case is only the most recent of a growing number of draft refusal cases in Italy, many of them who are anarchists or libertarians. Last year two Sicilian anarchists also refused either form of required service and they too destroyed their draft cards publicly. The two comrades, Orazio Valastro and Giuseppe Scarso, took their action in the public square of Comiso, Sicily the planned site of a base for U.S. cruise and Pershing missiles.

Their actions, in which anarchists are playing a significant role, are part of an intense resistance against construction of the base.

The chaos of a hundred packing boxes has finally been cleared away, lost correspondence found and misplaced book orders filled, and our new office space is beginning to take on the feeling of home. It's quite a change since the paper was in its last office for 12 years, but the fact that we are sharing quarters with three other groups has made the transition one of positive expectations. The large building we are occupying is just a few blocks uptown from the old address (in the shadow of the General Motors world headquarters) and features office space in front with a large performance area in the rear. The latter will be utilized by the Layabouts, a new wave band (three of whose members also contribute to the FE), the Dramatic Research Company (the old Freezer Theatre Players), and the Duck Club Players (from the infamous club of the same name), so music, satire and plays will abound. We had a big, bang-up, Detroit style grand opening and May Day celebration (Workers of the World Relax!) and a small Fifth Estate open house to show off our new quarters and bookstore. A full schedule of events is not yet set, but with the above crew situated, events in the manner of the old Grinning Duck and Freezer Theatre can be expected.

Our new address is printed on page one and in our staff box, while our phone number remains the same. We invite you to come down and say hello and to see our bookshop, but please call first as our hours are erratic to say the least.

Due to the paper being severely short-handed (caused mainly by staff travel and its opposite, full-time employment) this issue appears several weeks late. We hope the intervening time was filled by the FE Newsletter (see book page) and the arrival of *Against Leviathan* (see below). Thanks to the many people who sent in donations along with their subscription renewals; because of your sustained support our financial situation remains in good shape. A special thanks for the donation from Left Bank Books, 92 Pike St., Seattle WA 98101, who each month sends a portion of their income to publications or political prisoners. Left Bank has an extensive listing of publications available upon request.

## DETROIT SEEN

Although we mentioned above that we had our office pretty much back in shape, our collection of back issues still remains a disaster area. To those of you who have had requests in for papers for several months now, we ask for your patience in the matter. We will send them off as soon as we get them sorted into some discernible order.

By the time you read this hopefully you will have received the just-printed copy of Fredy Perlman's *Against His-Story, Against Leviathan*, a section of which appeared in the Winter 1983 FE. It is now a 300-page book and Black & Red, the publisher, has sent it to all FE subscribers. Since the book is being sent gratuitously, no price is being asked, but the book will sell for \$3 plus postage, so we encourage donations to B&R by those who can afford to do so. If you entered our list after the mailing was prepared, B&R may be contacted at Box 02374 Detroit MI 48202.



New offices: Contact the Fifth Estate at 5928 Second Ave., Detroit MI 48202.

A mistake in our address was printed in the FE Newsletter which was sent to those whose subscriptions were expiring as well as a few who ordered books. We think they were all forwarded to us, but if anyone received mail back, that is the reason. The address contained herein is correct. The only other mistake we noticed in last issue was that *Letters of In-*

*surgen's* was listed in our book ad at 50 cents rather than \$4.50 which must have appeared to be quite a bargain for an 831-page book.

Our attempt to have subscription renewals be self-regulating fell flat so if you still have an asterisk on your mailing label don't fret; it means nothing. As usual we appreciate those planning to re-new sending in their forms quickly so as to not necessitate a second mailing. Also, please notify us of any address change as the Post Office will not forward Second Class mail and charges us for the return.

**Adding Insult to Injury Department:** It's easy to recognize the oppressive role of the political state when observing its more gross features such as war, police repression, etc., but its authoritarian character can even extend to such mundane things as traffic jams. Overcrowded streets and expressways are considered just "part of life," another horrible way to spend part of your day. But we should not ignore the hand of government in the planning of a transportation system which ultimately cares nothing for those who use it. A good case in point is Detroit's I-94 expressway which has constantly snarled traffic due to several lanes being shut off so as to facilitate the construction of several new overpass bridges. Patience, you say, construction always causes problems and things will be better when they are completed. The enraging factor here is that these bridges are being built for the primary use of a new Cadillac motor car assembly plant which has been constructed on the land seized from an area called Poletown. Longtime residents were expelled from their homes and forced to sell their land to the city. The neighborhood (one of the few remaining ethnic areas in the city) was razed to make way for the auto plant which will make cars exclusively for the rich. Add to this the fact that everyone is now forced into endless traffic delays, and it is maddening. Are there really people who think anarchy would be worse? A film depicting the (losing) struggle for Poletown is available from Information Factory, 3512 Courville, Detroit, MI 48224.

—opposition to all those who work for the installation of a national and clerical



## Vancouver Five Charged With Litton Bombing

Every crime in Oklahoma was added to his name.

—Ballad of Pretty Boy Floyd by  
Woodie Guthrie

Seizing five anarchists on 17 charges of sabotage and conspiracy in British Columbia early this year (see FE Spring 1983) gave the Canadian government the excuse it needed to begin "clearing" other unsolved bomb cases by attributing them to the arrested five.

On April 12 Julie Belmas, Ann Hansen, Gerry Hannah, Doug Stewart and Brent Taylor were charged by Ontario authorities with the bombing of a Toronto Litton Industries plant that manufactures guidance systems for cruise missiles (see FE June 19, 1982). Three months had passed since the January 20th arrest of the five on the West Coast cases with no connection to the Toronto bombings being made. Suddenly, the charges were brought two days before a bail appeal was scheduled, forcing the hearing to be cancelled since even if bail had been granted, the accused would have been immediately re-arrested and flown to Toronto for the indictment there. This newest ploy insures the impossibility of bail for any of them and greatly magnifies the sensationalism surrounding the case.

The Vancouver 5, as the defendants are called, were denied bail by a Vancouver judge who cited reasons of "public safety" for refusing to set them free pending trial.

An even more alarming development in the case is the Crown's (the prosecution) decision to try to separate the 17 charges into four separate trials and to ask for life sentences for the accused. This would mean four different judges and four separate jury selections and trials. It appears that the Crown's strategy is to separate the "political" charges from the "criminal" ones in an attempt to eliminate the strong community support the five have in the Vancouver area. Such a string of trials in itself would condemn the accused to a de facto sentence of years in jail even if they are eventually found not guilty.

The Crown has also used other tactics to insure an unfair trial. The prosecutors have threatened the five with a procedure called direct indictment which would eliminate the defense's right to preliminary hearings (where they would get a chance to weigh the evidence against their clients) and instead send the case direct to trial. To avoid this, the five had to agree to a shortened preliminary hearing,

hence foregoing more of their rights.

Vancouver community support remains strong in the face of official intimidation with rallies and demonstrations marking every hearing for the five, and their defense group is picking up increased support from varied sections of the community. Police harassment continues unabated as well with raids on homes of activists and interrogations of supporters and friendly journalists. International support is also growing with extensive coverage of the case in the libertarian press, protests to Canadian consulates (which have been requested by the defense committee) and fund raising on behalf of the jailed.

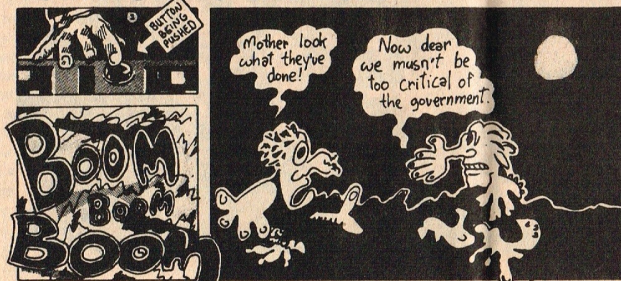
Support work is now underway to raise money, prepare a legal defense, and educate the public about the case. Those interested in assisting may send contributions to:

Free the Vancouver Five Defense Group  
Account No. 91740-1  
c/o CCEC Credit Union  
205 E. 6th Ave. Vancouver BC  
or for more information write:  
Free the Vancouver 5 Defense Group  
P.O. Box 48296 Bentall Station  
Vancouver BC V7X 1Aa

To contact any of the five captives directly, write to them individually at:  
Lower Mainland Regional Correction Center, Drawer O, Burnaby BC, V5H 3N4 CANADA.

**AS WE GO TO PRESS:** A police raid on Toronto supporters of the Vancouver Five has occurred and the prison support publication Bulldozer seized. See page 5.

## Constructive Criticism



## Polish Libertarians Under Martial Law

The following was received by the Fifth Estate as a "Declaration to the Libertarian Movement in the West":

We are a group of anarchists and anti-authoritarian left-wingers in Warsaw who came together in a discussion circle (Sigma) at the beginning of 1980. We all agreed on a general opposition to the existing political system in our country. Most of us came to anarchism via literature. For example, at the beginning of the 1950s some works of the Russian anarchist Peter Kropotkin were published in Poland in small editions. All of them were accessible to everyone in the public libraries. Another important source for us was a series called Library of Socialist Thought in which, during the

1960s, along with texts of Owen, Saint Simon, and Fourier, some works of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon and Mikhail Bakunin were published. In addition, a very badly edited collection of works of the most important Polish anarchist, Edward Abramowski, was published.

These texts, although subordinated to official Marxist-Leninist commentaries and often disfigured by arbitrary editorial cuts, nevertheless woke some interest in anarchism especially in student circles.

At the end of 1980, we distributed the first edition of our review *Nowa Gazeta Mazowiecka*, intended as a theoretical discussion forum and organ of the anti-authoritarian left in Poland. Beside opinion about the current political situation, poems, and satire, we published short articles on the theory and history of the libertarian movement, e.g. a "Short History of Anarchism" and "The Kronstadt Rebellion 1921." Along with our publications there existed another anarchist review (at Wroclaw), but we only learned of its existence by chance after December 1981. During an interrogation the review was shown to one of our members and he was asked whether he had any contact with the group in Wroclaw. Beyond this several other left publications were distributed in Poland and reflected sympathies for anarchism and anarchosyndicalism, before the declaration of martial law.

The political position of our group as expressed in our publications can be defined as follows:

- strict opposition to the totalitarian Jaruzelski regime remote-controlled from Moscow;
- support for the self-determination of the Polish people;
- critical solidarity with Solidarnosc and the movement for civil rights, meaning: support for all who fight for the real autonomy of the working class;

—opposition to all those who work for the installation of a national and clerical government as in the West.

The libertarians in Poland were not surprised by martial law; but since we had no success in establishing an operating coordination between the different groups before December 1981 (much less a common program), we were not able to coordinate underground activities after the military pogrom of Jaruzelski.

Another problem was that parts of the libertarian groups worked right from the beginning in a totally conspiratorial way, which made contact very difficult. One week after the declaration of martial law we were informed by chance of the existence of another anarchist group in Warsaw. We got this information via a leaflet distributed at the university, which called for active resistance to the military junta.

After December 13 and the temporary arrest of some of our members it was necessary to organize all our activities underground. All printing machines and other materials we had used for distributing our review have been confiscated and even destroyed during several police raids. At present printing machines, paper, and ink are not available—it is even difficult to get them in the black market, and prices there exceed our financial capacities.

Without technical possibilities and with a permanent fear of police observation, the only chance of propagating our ideas during the first months of the new military regime was to write leaflets by hand or to paint slogans on walls at night, which was quite dangerous for us.

After the first great wave of repression we got in contact with other non-dogmatic left groups in Warsaw. In May 1982 we were able to distribute the underground review *Rownos* (*Equality*) together with other comrades in Warsaw. Besides this we were informed some days ago that the publication of an anarchosyndicalist paper titled *Przelom* (*Subversion*) is being planned. But until recently we had no contact with these comrades. We intend to revive our *Nowa Gazeta Mazowiecka* and several booklets on anarchism and anarchosyndicalism.

In order to support this and to spread libertarian ideas in Poland we very urgently need your political and material aid. Support us in our fight against Jaruzelski's junta and all the nationalist and clerical forces, and for the self-determination of the Polish people

Fraternally ours,  
Sigma Group  
Warsaw, Poland

German comrades have founded a solidarity fund at the following address:  
Jochen Knoblauch  
Postcheckkonto Nr. 451523-109  
Postcheckamt Berlin West  
Germany



## Recovery Really Here?

Continued from Page One

century, but it was World War I and its aftermath which created the cycle that defines international capitalism in the modern epoch—that of crisis, war, reconstruction and crisis again.

After the prosperity of the 1920's, the cycle was realized again in the Great Depression (which actually was not as severe as those during the 1890's) followed by World War II. The resultant period of reconstruction in the '50's and '60's produced the vibrant economies of that era, but now the chips of a system which constantly overproduces are being called in again with the economy suffering what in other periods has been a pre-war crisis. However, the nature of modern war makes the prospect of "reconstruction" after a nuclear exchange inviting only to madmen (which is not to say it is an impossibility) and perhaps ushering in an era of "small" conflicts (El Salvador).

### Capital's Success Judged By Ledger Sheets

Even the so-called eras of prosperity are an illusion unless you happen to be of the right color in the right country in the right region at the right time for capitalism has never been able to support all under its dominion in fine style at the same time. Capitalism is a system whose success is judged by its ledger sheets and not by the human happiness or lack of it which it engenders.

Capitalism always immiserates physically and financially one section of its population—either by class within a given country, within a region within a given country, or by country within the world's nation states. The most easily understood examples of such relationships are those of Third World countries to the industrial nations or the relative shift of affluence within this country from the industrial Northeast to the South and Southwest in recent years. And the vagaries of capital, sort of a karmic wheel of misfortune, have come to be taken as "normal" as those of the weather, so a recession or a shift in area of prosperity is accepted much like a severe storm—not pleasant, but nothing much you can do about it either.

### A Vast And Permanent Underclass

Is there a recovery? Of sorts, but not one which will extend to those hardest hit by the latest downward cycle. In many ways, the much vaunted "trickle-down" theory of capitalist economics did function previously in such a way that the enormous wealth of the rulers would provide the working class of the Western sector of capital with a relatively high standard of living. That may no longer be possible, with the wealth trickling down considerably less as value escapes to different regions of the world leaving a vast and permanent underclass in the West with a marginal status formerly associated with minorities and the lowest rung of the poor. Most economic forecasters see the current upturn in the U.S. (one which is the weakest following a recession since World War II) as mainly affecting investors, middle-income people with secure jobs, financial service industries, retail and wholesale



The desperation sets in: Unemployed workers at Pittsburgh rally praying (to capital?) for jobs.

**When leftists and liberals call for "Jobs Not War!," in their usual dim manner, they fail to realize that under modern capitalism jobs are war.**

Recovery is that the old, so-called "smoke-stack industries" which formed the backbone of industrial America—auto, steel, rubber, glass—are a dead-letter compared to the levels of previous production and employment. A look at the industrial cities of Ohio, Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Michigan give an insight into the hopelessness of the situation for industrial workers.

### Seven-Day-A-Week Food Kitchens In Detroit

In Detroit, the only booming industry is crime, up dramatically as the reality of poverty hits so many formerly waged workers. The city admits to 21% unemployment, but that represents only those registered on the state roles and ignores the so-called "discouraged" workers (those whose benefits have run out) as well as the tens of thousands of youth who reach working age never to see a job and hence, are unemployed. This is a full-scale depression in Detroit where a third of the city's population is on welfare or food stamps and seven-day-a-week food kitchens are needed to keep people from starving on the streets.

These statistics are echoed nation-wide with minorities and the already poor taking the brunt of both the down-turn and now having their meagre existence being threatened or ended by government cutbacks in social services.

This spectre of a vast, permanent underclass, exceeding greatly even the previously high levels of poverty in our "wealthy" country, makes sense as a pre-

paration for a 3% increase in the Gross National Product for next year, but a 2.5% increase is needed to virtually keep even with new job entrants and to keep unemployment from increasing. An additional growth rate in the GNP of 2.5% is necessary to drop the jobless rate by just 1%. This means that to drop official unemployment from 10% to 7% it would require a 12% increase in the GNP, a virtual impossibility.

### Statification of Capital

Since the 1930's, capitalism has sought to shore itself up by a massive and in some countries, a generalized statification of capital (the New Deal in the U.S., Stalinism in the Soviet Union, fascism in Germany, etc.). The theories of Keynesian economics adopted by the Roosevelt administration and practiced as government "pump-priming" measures for civilian programs proved to be a failure with only the advent of World War II and its massive arms production being what finally ended the Depression.

The realization came to the capitalists that a peacetime economy was no longer possible—only war and its preparation were what would assure a functioning and profitable system. Even Lord Keynes, whose theories, formed the basis of the New Deal, recognized the necessity of this when he stated in 1940: "It seems politically impossible for a capitalistic democracy to organize expenditures on the scale necessary to make the grand experiment which would prove my case—except in war conditions."

capitalism—production of war materiel with the creation of the Soviet Union as our perpetual enemy as its justification after the Nazis were defeated. So, when leftists and liberals call for "Jobs, Not War!," in their usual dim manner they fail to realize that under modern capitalism, jobs are war. Besides the fact that the call for the creation of wage work is capital's program, these pitiful reformers also ignore that of the new jobs created there will be a disproportionately high number in the "defense" sector, the private sector already glutted with overinvestment. Also, the danger always exists that a working class whose existence depends upon state financed military projects will become the most vocal proponents of war preparations.

The argument that liberal economist Seymour Milman and other peace advocates have put forth over the last two decades that defense production is actually dysfunctional for capitalism, being capital rather than labor intensive, hence, employing substantially less workers than civilian production, and that it generates less profit in the form of surplus value is irrelevant. The economy is geared for war and well-motivated schemes for "conversion" to production for peace have less chance now for realization than when they were first put forth twenty years ago.

The U.S. empire and its vassal states demand constant protecting from rival empires and from internal revolts, with armaments needed constantly to repress both. But even if the U.S. could make peace with its competitors and stop sponsoring the repression of peasants and workers around the world, the conversion to an economy which would meet domestic needs of the U.S. only holds positive prospects in the short run for a system which needs a constant influx of profits. Production for domestic consumer consumption—a rise in the standard of living for everyone—has always run into the roadblock of overproduction for capitalism. A situation of permanent warfare—a garrison state—is the only model which appears to offer the promise of continuing profits for capital.

### Must Confront The State

Ever since the emergence of the political state thousands of years ago, its rationale has been the mobilization of mass projects beyond the scope of cooperating neighbors—immense irrigation systems, temple building, and of course, war as an institution and on a vastly expanded scale. Today, the state plays no different a role, but now its central project of preparation for war has taken on a transcendent quality increasing its capacity for destruction to entire rival states or to the planet itself.

Today, no serious challenge to what threatens our humanity and our lives can be launched without a confrontation with the state. Schemes of the reformers who still hold out hope for persuading politicians or sections of the ruling circles to choose a more "sensible" or "humane" course, fail to understand what historical and economic forces are at work.

We must evoke in ourselves and in others a rejection of the categories of capital. There must be a conscious desire to no longer live as objects of capital—as workers or as wards of the state—but to become free human beings trying to create a new society. The institutionalized rackets of reform, the political parties and unions, only serve to deter a struggle to eliminate the state, which alone contains the potential to



jobs, financial service industries, retail and wholesale merchants, and naturally, the major corporations.

The reason so many will be excluded from the New

erty in our wealthy country, makes sense as a prediction from a statistical vantage point as well. Even the most optimistic capitalist economists only look

in war conditions.

And these "conditions" are the heart of advanced

mate the state, which alone contains the potential to create a human future; all else dooms us to the defeats of the past.

## MORE LETTERS...

Continued from Page Two

degrading to women to describe their plight as total, continual enslavement by patriarchy since the dawn of human society; the important work being done to uncover the suppressed history of women's activities in past cultures shows how narrow minded is this supposedly radical perspective.

An examination of the past reveals not "blueprints" for a new society but different modes of being which, contrasted with the spiritual hollowness of capitalist society, are suggestive of the rich possibilities of human existence. Like Jean Elshain, we marvel at the emotional strength of her grandmother, a member of a society which nurtured a rich community life. We should like to consider the implications of such lives for shopworn radical shibboleths about the alleged discovery by capitalist individuals of the "realm of freedom." And like poet and anthropologist Stanley Diamond, we are engaged in a "search for the primitive" in which we consider the primitive mode of being a serious and desirable alternative.

All discussion of accompanying tools is therefore strictly a local and secondary problem, subordinate to the construction of an emotionally rich social existence. At the same time we have endlessly analyzed technology (understood as a system of domination based on the absolute reordering of social life to conform to the disciplined order and synchronous pace of the machine process; or more recently to the omniscient, feedback-oriented processes of cybernetics) not just because we despise it but, more importantly, because it is destructive of the living tissue of community.

A full discussion of what constitutes a living community is not possible here, but the interested reader might want to have a look at Lewis Hyde's long-awaited new book *The Gift: Imagination and the Erotic Life of Property*. I haven't read it yet, but Jackson Lears eloquently and admirably reviews the book in the June 4, 1983 issue of the *Nation*. As in his long article "Gift Exchange and the Imagination" (see *Fifth Estate*, January 19, 1982) Hyde shows how gift exchange is the spiritual nexus of community life in primitive and other non-capitalist societies, contrasting this with the spiritual emptiness of capitalist commodity exchange.

As for Murray Bookchin, it seems to me that he has modified the quasi-Marxist line of argument central to his post-scarcity analysis, concerning himself of late more with the way capitalism

"hollows out" and destroys communities. That "cunning of history" which would reveal it as a necessary project to develop the means to overcome scarcity has apparently been consigned to the margins of Bookchin's thought.

Or to the footnotes: in a note on page 58 of *The Ecology of Freedom*, Bookchin nastily and unfairly criticizes Marshall Sahlins and others who accept Sahlins' characterization of hunter-gatherer life as the "original affluent society." Calling this notion "simplistic and regressive," Bookchin links it to "atavistic feelings" against civilization as well as to an anti-social, fascist survivalist movement (!). He continues: "Leaving aside the significance of such crucial social developments as writing, urbanity, fairly advanced crafts and technics, and even the rudiments of science—none of which could have been developed by Paleolithic nomads—I hold that the case for hunting-gathering as humanity's 'golden age' is totally lacking in evolutionary promise."

Excuse me, my good barbarian—but you are lacking even the rudiments of science. We'll leave it to Bookchin to explain just what the significance might be of these "crucial social developments"; or how one might conceive non-tautologically the phrase "the case for hunting-gathering as humanity's 'golden age' is totally lacking in evolutionary promise." Suffice it to say that primitive people have never voluntarily accepted the "benefits" the civilized have tried ceaselessly to bestow upon them—they have always had to be dragged, kicking and screaming, into civilization's fold.

It's no secret Bookchin prefers the "higher stage" of human association exemplified by the slavery-based Athenian polis. (See his soon to be published *Forms of Freedom*, where he extols the political forms developed in the Greek slave states). Perhaps it is sheer coincidence that his prized evolutionary developments—writing, urbanity, science, and technics (which either had begun to appear or were flourishing in ancient Greece)—all have been, at various moments in the "evolution" of society, linchpins of domination.

As always, the arrogance of the civilized mind is boundless.

E.B. Maple responds: I suppose "aghost" would be a bit too strong a word to indicate my surprise at someone within the anti-authoritarian milieu quoting Marx to support their contentions, but it comes close. Why does Ron think that a quote from such a source, entirely unsupported, obviously quoted only for its authority,

would carry any weight, particularly in these circles? The old shit that is getting reproduced shouldn't be coming from those who say they have left it behind.

Music: There are a few nice things being done today within the spheres of amplified and electronic music, but to raise the issue of jazz certainly does his argument little good. Jazz was at the height of its creativity in the early '60's (evidence John Coltrane) and I would ask anyone to compare the music of Miles Davis, Herbie Hancock, Sonny Stitt, Lou Donaldson, Stanley Turrentine or the many others who were at their peak during that period, with their contemporary sound after a surrender to a commercialism and mechanized pop/funk that today barely makes them worth listening to.

Every middle-class marxist I've ever met has expressed the same desires for a multi-faceted life after the revolution. It doesn't sound bad, but I've never heard one of them say that they wanted to be a coal miner in the morning, a forge operator in the afternoon and a micro chip board assembler after dinner. Tasks like these, done by zeks, are the foundation of industrial capitalism and if we drag the same old shit into our new society, they will also be done by zeks. Technology is the basis of industrial capitalism; industrial capitalism is the basis of technology.

These replies always come out in print a bit harsher than they are intended. We simply disagree with Ron's opinions, but hope neither he nor others are dissuaded

from continuing the debate within these pages.

## I Am A Punk

The Fifth Estate:

Recently, because I am a punk, I have had many questions concerning anarchy directed towards me. Unfortunately I am not very knowledgeable on the subject. I have met very few 'true' anarchists but alot of 'poseurs' who aren't the least bit sincere. I have always been a strong believer in personal anarchy (no authority, don't let others exploit you for their benefit...) and I would like to learn about political and universal anarchy (and related topics). Hopefully I will learn enough so that I might help to inform others of its true purpose (not just to have an A on their leather jackets). I am very sincere about making things change and waking people up out of their dormant state induced by society and its politics. I would very much like to receive a copy of your publication. Unfortunately I am only squatting for the time being and it would be difficult to get a subscription and I have no way of sending a check etc. I hope that you will be able to help me in any way possible (even if it is in the form of a short note or even a definition!)

A. Ransom Youth  
P.O. Box 7540  
Menlo Park CA 94025

Thanks to the Rev. NJN



## Anargate Continues

To The Fifth Estate:

Five members of the Montreal Coordinating Committee of the Anarchos Institute have resigned. The present coordinating committee felt that the distribution of our letter was an "inappropriate use" of the mailing list. Since they had already removed the membership files from the Anarchos office, we were not in a position to dispute this decision.

Therefore, we are attempting to inform present Institute members of our statement through the anarchist press. Our letter of resignation is available from:

P.O. Box 1415  
Station H  
Montreal, Quebec  
Canada H3G 2W4

## New Size FE?

Dear Friends:

I thought I'd take this opportunity to drop you a note. I always enjoy at least a part of the *Fifth Estate*. (The Money, Money, Money thing in the last issue was great).

I'd like to chip in a couple of cents worth of advice though. I know you have already responded to comments about form and style, but... I edit a publication out here called the Resource Center for Nonviolence Newsletter. For a few years we put out a tabloid quarterly (or so) of either 8, 12, or 16 pages. We thought it was just fine and we got quite a few nice comments. Two years ago though we did a combined issue with WIN Magazine of New York. After that we did a long analysis of the Newsletter. It had become a lot more than a "news-letter" over the years in a fairly haphazard manner. We wanted to now improve it in concrete and organized ways. We became very impressed with the magazine, as opposed to tabloid, format. It made for higher readability, easier layout, and an easier understanding of the space we had available.

Like the FE we were notorious for cramming print on pages. It is amazing to me how a full page of magazine print (or two or three) does not intimidate or tire the eye nearly as much as the same amount on a tabloid page.

After much discussion we decided to switch formats. (I dragged my feet more than anybody. I always considered newspapers to be more populist and accessible than magazines.) The response we got

Continued on Page Eleven



## LOOKING FOR "LITTON CONNECTION"

# Toronto Police Seize Prison Paper

On June 13th the Metropolitan police raided our house on Cambridge Ave. as part of the ongoing investigation into the bombing of the Litton Systems Plant outside the city last October (see FE Winter 1982-83).

On one level, this is just one of a series of raids which have taken place in Toronto. Unfortunately, there are many indications that this is a definite escalation of the harassment that has been directed against anti-authoritarians and activists within the peace movement.

First off, the raid was directly linked to the fact that the local support work for the Five people arrested in Vancouver and charged with the Litton bombing and other acts of sabotage has essentially been centered in our house. Much of the initiative has come from some of the people living here; we are connected to them politically and personally. We support them as friends. And we support them politically because we believe that it is imperative to support political people facing charges stemming from political activity regardless of the charges involved.

### Prison Newsletter Seized

More disturbingly though, the raid also seems to be a direct attack against *Bulldozer*. (For anyone not familiar with *Bulldozer*, it is a magazine written by and for political prisoners, with production and distribution being done by some of the people living here.) We were in the midst of production for issue no. 6 which was shaping up to be the best issue yet. We were, and are, excited by this issue and the raid caught us at virtually the worst time possible.

Seizure of the copy for the new issue was specified in the search warrant. The typeset galleys were taken along with the original articles. The mailing list was also seized. Production has been set back for a month and some expenses will have to be duplicated. Xeroxes of the mailing list were returned to us and we are currently trying to get the typeset copy back as well.

The political offenses listed on the warrant—and it is important to note that no charges have been laid along these lines—are seditious libel and sabotage of Litton. These remain over our heads as potential charges and could be laid at any time.

Immediately after the raid, we thought that the accusation of association with the Litton bombing was merely an excuse for

the police to come fishing. But as the situation clarified, it has become more apparent that the Toronto authorities are very seriously looking for the "Toronto link." On one level this is encouraging because it indicates that they have very little information on what actually did happen leading up to the Oct. 14 bombing.

Their case against the Five accused is probably very weak. The danger lies in the strong temptation the local police must have to "solve the case" regardless of what evidence exists.

The police have been caught flat-footed recently and have drawn blanks in virtually all of the major cases over the past year or so. These cases include the mysterious deaths of over twenty children at Sick Kids hospital; the sexual abuse and strangulation of nine women last summer. And the British Columbia police actually produced most of the leads that exist on Litton.

It is hard to maintain the image of being a prestigious police department when the statistics indicate quite the opposite. It is quite possible that someone in Toronto will be set up for the Litton rap. It could be us; it could be someone else. But one shouldn't be surprised if it happens.

What is obvious is that the threat of such a charge as "seditious libel" is an attempt to stifle debate and discussion. *Bulldozer* is a legal magazine yet its existence was severely compromised by the raid. *Bulldozer* is a forum of communication for the "disappeared" people in North America, those people who have been buried by the state in the prisons.

Increasingly *Bulldozer* was finding its community among the political prisoners, white, native and black whom the state is trying to silence. As a collective we sought to use our media skills to give voice to those people who had directly challenged the power of the state.

### Home Was Bugged

In this Brave New World that we find ourselves in, communication itself becomes suspect. Without having committed any crimes, we discovered that our most intimate as well as our political conversations were monitored within our own home. We knew for quite a while this was a possibility but it is quite an intimidating and choking experience to concretely learn that little of our lives has been protected from the prying ears of the state

over the past several months. To not to be able to speak freely in one's own home for fear of listening devices merely confirms our worst fears of the state; that there can be no compromise between our freedom and the state's existence.

One direct result of the surveillance on us was the laying of four criminal charges on a woman who had no direct participation in the political activities for which the warrant was issued. The charges against her are very serious; procuring an abortion, procuring instruments for an abortion and two theft charges. We protest these charges and are totally outraged by them. The person charged is innocent of any wrongdoing. At the time the charge was laid, it was used as leverage to try to gain information on the political activities of others.

### Bulldozer Will Come Out

In spite of the tensions that have percolated through all of us from the trauma of the raid and its aftermath, we are gaining strength and experience. We are pre-

pared for whatever comes and we will fight on both the political and legal fronts. Financial support is needed to challenge the legitimacy of the search warrants, but especially for the abortion charges.

This woman is suffering persecution because she chooses to live with "enemies of the state." It is doubtful that many people could be under intensive surveillance for some months without engaging in some behaviour deemed "criminal" by the law.

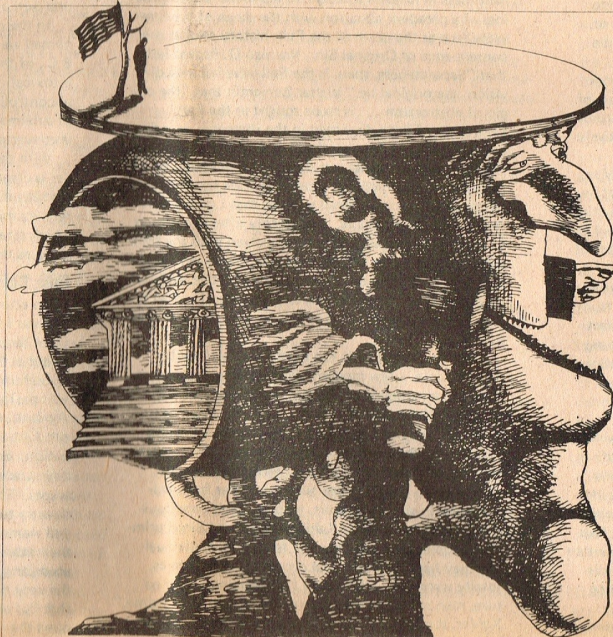
*Bulldozer* no. 6 will come out. It will be late. It will be good. Ironically, we were having problems writing an introduction on "Resistance and Repression." But that problem has been solved.

It should be noted that the last time a charge of seditious libel was laid was in 1950. So, to even use it as a threat indicates the depths to which they are willing to stoop. We need political, moral and financial support. Money received, unless specified will be shared between the costs of bringing out *Bulldozer*, fighting the abortion charges and other support expenses.

Please send any contributions to Bulldozer, P.O. Box 5052, Stn A, Toronto Ont., Canada M5W 1W4. And remember, the Vancouver Five need your support now more than ever.

*Although plans are not definite at this writing since we just received news of the above raid, the Fifth Estate is planning to coordinate a fund-raising event here at our office/performance space; contact us later in July for details. Also, Bulldozer, the current issue as well as previous ones, is available through the FE Bookstore, but we encourage orders to go directly to the publisher at the above address as a show of support. A fuller version of this statement is also available from them.*

*This statement was received July 7 from the publishers of Bulldozer magazine. The Fifth Estate urges complete support for those being victimized by the Toronto police.*



## you're on trial 1979-1981

this courtroom is a public urinal reeking  
with the suicidal odor of protocol  
the oily horror of boredom illuminates my nausea  
on a never ending ride into the hinterlands  
of the lonliest chaos I have ever known  
does the defendant waive time?  
my lawyer winks flirtatiously  
yes, your honor  
he learned his ABC's  
yes, your honor  
she pledged allegiance to the flag  
yes, your honor  
they are usually on welfare  
yes, your honor  
we are dying, unknown to history

—Peter Plate



# What Time Is It? A Response to Zerzan

Continued from Page 7

"radical departure" — is he arguing that while other time-senses are alienating, they are much less so than linear time? How, then, does one conceive of these degrees of alienation?

These confusions illustrate my earlier remark that John's copious use of quotes often does his argument no good. Or perhaps we can now state the reverse: John's argument is not consistent with the examples he adduces to support it. These examples, in fact, point to a completely different interpretation of time.

When John first sent us the article, I wrote to him about some problems I had with his concept of "no-time." In response, he sent me a quote from the book *Political Philosophy and Time* by John G. Gunnell, who contends that primitive people have neither the perception nor the conception of time. Following Ernst Cassirer and Susanne Langer, Gunnell argues that the primary human attribute is symbolization: "For man reality is what is presented to him in his symbols, and there is no penetrating beyond symbols to a more ultimate datum; the factual world is given in the symbolic. Man is continually in the process of creating a virtual reality which forms the boundaries of his activity."

Gunnell believes that primitive people order experience through the symbolic form of myth, and that people in history order their experience by the symbolic form called time. He writes that "time in the myth is not really time at all"; continuing, "It may seem odd to maintain that primitive and archaic societies lack a consciousness of time when it can easily be demonstrated that such societies possess procedures which it is difficult to designate by any term other than 'time-reckoning,' and the high cultures of the ancient world developed complex and relatively sophisticated methods and systems for calculating 'time.' But although ancient man engaged in what, in retrospect, may be termed 'time-reckoning,' there is no distinction between the 'time' of nature, the 'time' of creation, and the 'time' of society."

But while Gunnell argues strenuously that primitive and ancient people had no experience of time, he makes no claim that time emerges gradually out of primitive society, leading to domination. In fact, he sees state society, specifically ancient Egypt, as still existing within the mythological order. And he argues that "in the ancient world time-calculation was not primarily a function of an interest in chronology as such, although a monopoly on this skill contributed to the power of the kings and priests; it was essentially related to the elaboration of the myth and served ultimately to bind together the rhythms of nature and society. Discrete time symbols could not appear until human existence emerged as a separate order, even in the societies of ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia which possessed the complex social structures which are normally associated with refined notions of time and multiple levels of temporal ordering." For Gunnell, then, domination, in the form of state society, precedes the emergence of time. Whatever one thinks of Gunn-

ell's argument, it is clear it does not confirm John's schema in which the emergence of time engenders domination.

Gunnell's argument does, however, support John's conception of "no-time." But Gunnell occasionally exhibits the same problem John has in taking quotes out of context. For instance, he quotes Ernst Cassirer in the discussion about the timelessness of myth, arguing that (to quote Cassirer), that in the myth "there is not only an absence of historical time but 'no time' as such," no perpetual duration and no regular recurrence or succession." Gunnell ends this quote with a period, but in the actual text, from Volume 2 of *The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms*, Cassirer follows the word succession with a semicolon. Let's look at the larger passage to see what Cassirer is actually saying: "For myth there is no time 'as such,' no perpetual duration and no regular recurrence or succession; there are only configurations of particular content which in turn reveal a certain temporal *gestalt*, a coming and going, a rhythmic being and becoming. Thus, time as a whole is divided by certain boundaries akin to musical bars. But at first its 'beats' are not measured or counted but immediately felt.... The fact is that long before the human consciousness forms its first concepts concerning the basic objective differentiations of number, time, and space, it seems to acquire

the subtlest sensitivity to the peculiar periodicity and rhythm of human life. Even at the lowest stages of culture, even among primitive peoples who have barely arrived at the first beginnings of enumeration and who consequently cannot possibly have any exact quantitative conception of temporal relations, we often find this subjective feeling for the living dynamic of the temporal process developed in astonishing subtlety and precision.... Thus we see that for mythical consciousness and feeling a kind of biological time, a rhythmic ebb and flow of life, precedes the intuition of a properly cosmic time."

As we can see, the contextual emphasis of this passage is counter to Gunnell's truncated usage of it. The same fault plagues John's article: one would never know from his scattershot style of quotation that Frankfurt, Eliade, and Levy-Bruhl each are describing what they consider to be a sense of time in primitive cultures.

Aside from this, Cassirer's seems to me a plausible way to describe the primitive sense of time. Indeed, as Frederick Turner points out in *Beyond Geography: The Western Spirit against the Wilderness*, "consciousness of the passage of time is inevitable in deaths, births, natural disasters, and other phenomenon that willy-nilly record duration."

Perhaps one problem with John's article, although I won't insist on it, is that he has what I would call a "naive" conception of primitive, specifically hunter-gatherer, society. He equates their way of life with Eden, and history with the Fall. Primitives are seen as living "only in a now, as we all do when we are having fun." Nietzsche on the eternity of pleasure is also summoned to convey John's impression of hunter-gatherer life. While all this is suggestive it is probably too utopian. Perhaps John is so allergic to anything smacking of anxiety, or conflict, that he perceives as

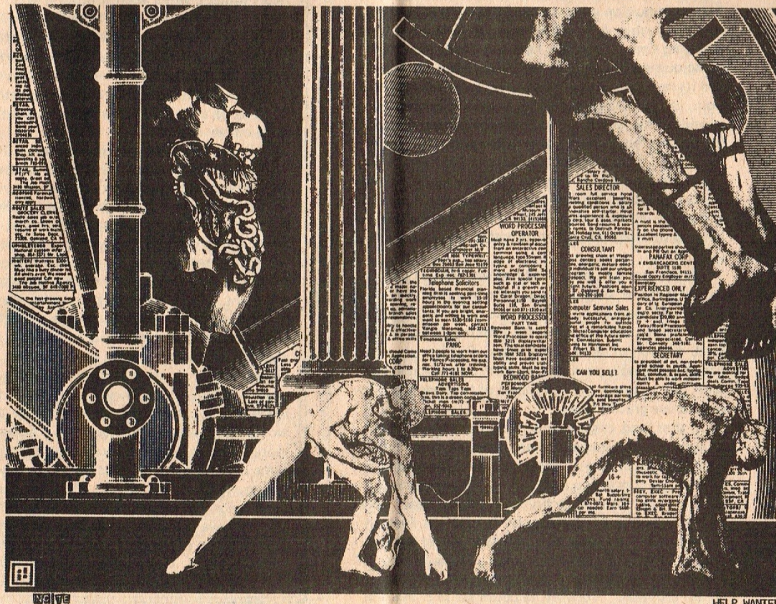
alienation what is only primitive society's ingenious ability to mollify its problems. Let me illustrate what I mean by quoting Meyer Fortes, who is cited by Stanley Diamond in his book *In Search of the Primitive*.

Fortes: "I do not mean to imply that everybody is always happy, contented, and free of care in a primitive society. On the contrary, there is plenty of evidence that among them, as with us, affability may conceal hatred and jealousy, friendliness and devotion enjoined by law and morals may mask enmity, exemplary citizenship may be a way of compensating for frustration and fears. The important thing is that in primitive societies there are customary methods of dealing with these common human problems of emotional adjustment by which they are externalized, publicly accepted, and given treatment in terms of ritual beliefs; society takes over the burden which, with us, falls entirely on the individual. Restored to the esteem of his fellows he is able to take up with ease the routine of existence which was thrown temporarily off its course by an emotional upheaval. Behavior that would be the maddest of fantasies in the individual, or even the worst of vices, becomes tolerable and sane, in his society, if it is transformed into custom and woven into the outward and visible fabric of a community's social life. This is easy in primitive societies where the boundary between the inner world of the self and the outer world of the community marks their line of fusion rather than of separation."

In my opinion, this passage conveys a much more accurate impression of primitive society than anything in John's article. And it raises yet another question about the pessimistic implications of his argument. The above description is meant to apply to all primitive societies, including those which practice agriculture. But according to John, agricultural societies are already hopelessly mired in time and alienation. When Diamond, or Fortes, or Pierre Clastres refer to primitive society, they are assuming an essential continuity between hunter-gatherer and agricultural communities. Clastres, for one, explicitly argues that the movement of societies from hunting to agriculture "appears to have been affected without changing the nature of those societies in any way." Perhaps John would consider the above description of the resolution of conflict in primitive societies to actually be a trawl of alienation. If so, this would indicate with utmost precision the pessimistic connotations of his argument: his envisioned society would belong not to the earthly plane of existence but could only be situated in heaven.

By now I have hammered away at virtually the entire scaffolding of John's argument. I began by criticizing its pessimistic implications; I criticized numerous confusions in his usage of the word *time*; I questioned his central notion of "no-time"; I questioned whether time in fact engenders domination; finally, I questioned his "naive" version of primitive society. But where does this leave me? I have no more answered the question "Who brought the curse?" than has John. But if this question is answerable, I believe it is more likely to be found when we see with utmost clarity what primitive society is and is not.

—Bob Brubaker





# Beginning of Time, End of Time

by John Zerzan

Just as today's most obsessive notion is that of the material reality of time, self-existent time was the first lie of social life. As with nature, time did not exist before the individual became separate from it. Reification of this magnitude—the beginning of time—constitutes the Fall: the initiation of alienation, of history.

Spengler observed that one culture is differentiated from another by the intuitive meanings assigned to time, Canetti that the regulation of time is the primary attribute of all government. But the very movement from community to civilization is also predicated there. It is the fundamental language of technology and the spirit of domination.

Today the feverish acceleration of time, as well as the failure of the "solution" of spatializing it, is exposing it as an artificial, oppressive force along with its corollaries, progress and Becoming. More concretely, technology and work are being revealed by the palpable thrall of time. Either way, the pressure to dissolve history and the rule of time hasn't been so strong since the Middle Ages, before that, since the Neolithic revolution establishing agriculture.

When the humanization of technology and work appear as dubious propositions, the humanization of time itself is also called into question. The questions forming are, how can basic oppressions be effectively controlled or reformed? Why not abolished?

Quoting Hegel approvingly, Debord wrote, "Man, the negative being who is only to the extent that he suppresses Being, is identical to time." This equation is being refused, a situation perhaps best illumined by looking at the origins, evolution and present status of time.

If "all reification is a forgetting," in Horkheimer and Adorno's pregnant phrase, it seems equally true that all "forgetting"—in the sense of loss of contact with our time-less beginnings, of constantly "falling into time"—is a reification. All the other reifications, in fact, follow from this one.

## To The Murderous Idolatry of The Future

It may be due to the huge implications involved that no one has satisfactorily defined the objectification called time and its course. From time, into history, through progress, and to the murderous idolatry of the future, which now kills species, languages, cultures, and possibly the entire natural world. This essay should go no further without declaring an intent and strategy: technological society can only be dissolved (and prevented from recycling) by annulling time and history.

"History is eternal becoming and therefore eternal future; nature is become and eternally past," as Spengler put it. This movement is also well captured by Marcuse's "History is the negation of Nature," the increasing speed of which has carried man quite outside of himself. At the heart of the process is the reigning concept of temporality itself, which was unknown to early humans.

Levy-Bruhl provides an introduction: "Our idea of time seems to be a natural attribute of the human mind. But that is a delusion. Such an idea scarcely exists where primitive mentality is concerned. . . ." The Frankforts concluded that primeval thought "does not know time as uniform duration or as a succession of qualitatively indifferent moments." Rather, early individuals "lived in a stream of inner and outer experience which brought along a different cluster of coexisting events at every moment, and thus constantly changed, quantitatively and qualitatively."

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Meditating on the skull of a plains hunter-gatherer woman, Jacques Attali could imagine the "eternal present in which all days, all the seasons of the plain stood in an enduring unity." In fact, life was lived in a continuous present, underlying the point that his-

research of Marshall Sahlins, Richard Lee and others has changed this view very drastically. Foraging now represents the original affluent society in that it provided life and cultural pleasures with a minimum of effort; work was regarded strictly as a social cost and the spirit of the gift predominated.

This, then, was the basis of no-time, bringing to mind Whitrow's remark that "Primitives live only in a now, as we all do when we are having fun," and Nietzsche's that "All pleasure desires eternity—deep, deep eternity."

The idea of an original state of pleasure and perfection is very old and virtually universal. The memory of a "Lost Paradise"—and often an accompanying eschatology that demands the destruction of subsequent existence—is seen in the Taoist idea of a Golden Age, the Cronia and Saturnalia of Rome, the Greeks' Elysium, and the Christian Garden of Eden and the Fall (probably deriving from the Sumerian laments for lost happiness in lordless society), to name but a few. The loss of a paradisaical situation with the dawn of time, reveals time as the curse of the Fall, history seen as the consequence of Original Sin. Norman O. Brown felt that "Separateness, then, is the Fall—the fall into division, the original lie," Walter Benjamin that "the origin of abstraction . . . is to be sought in the Fall."

Conversely, Eliade discerned in the shamanic experience a "nostalgia for paradise," in exploring the belief that "what the shaman can do today in *ecstasy*" could, prior to the hegemony of time, "be done by all human beings in *concreto*." Small wonder that Loren Eiseley saw in aboriginal people "remarkably effective efforts to erase or ignore all that is not involved with the transcendent search for timelessness, the happy land of no change," or that Levi-Strauss found primitive societies determined to "resist desperately any modification in their structure that would enable history to burst into their midst."

If all this seems a bit too heady for such a sober topic as time, a few modern clichés may give pause as to where an absence of wisdom really lies. John G. Gunnell tells us that "Time is a form for ordering experience," an exact parallel to the equally fallacious assertion of the neutrality of technology. Even more extreme in its fealty to time is Clark and Piggott's bizarre claim that "human societies differ from animal ones, in the final resort, through their consciousness of history." Erich Kahler has it that "Since primitive peoples have scarcely any feeling for individuality, they have no individual property," a notion as totally wrong as Leslie Paul's "In stepping out of nature, man makes himself free of the dimension of time." Kahler, it might be added, is on vastly firmer ground in noting that the early individual's "primitive participation with his universe and with his community begins to disintegrate" with the acquiring of time. Seidenberg also detected this loss, in which our ancestor "found himself diverging ever farther from his instinctual harmony along a precarious path of unstable synthesis. And that path is history."

## From Totemism to Religion

Coming back to the mythic dimension, as in the generalized ancient memory of an original Eden—the reality of which was hunter-gatherer life—we confront the magical practices found in all races and early societies. What is seen here, as opposed to the time-bound mode of technology, is an atemporal intervention aimed at the "reinstatement of the usual uniformities of nature." It is this primary human interest in the regularity, not the supersession, of the processes of nature

that bears emphasizing. Related to magic is totemism, in which the kinship of all living things is paramount; with magic and its totemic context, participation with nature underlies all.

"In pure totemism," says Frazer, " . . . the totem

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spatialization—that of humans themselves—for division of labor and the other ensuing separations may be said to stem from the large growth of human numbers, with the progressive breakdown of hunter-gatherer life. The bourgeois way of stating this is the cliché that domination (rulers, cities, the state, etc.) was the natural outcome of "population pressures."

In the movement from the hunter-gatherer to the nomad we see spatialization in the form, at about 1200 B.C., of the war chariot (and the centaur figure). The intoxication with space and speed, as compensation for uncontrolled time, is obviously with us yet. It is a kind of sublimation; the anxiety energy of the sense of time is converted toward domination spatially, most simply.

With the end of a nomadic existence, the social order is created on a basis of fixed property, a further spatialization. Here enters Euclid, whose geometry reflects the needs of the early agricultural systems and which established science on the wrong track by taking space as the primary concept.

## Time, Controlled By A Powerful Elite

In attempting a typology of the egalitarian society, Morton Fried declared that it had no regular division of labor (and thus no political power accrued therefrom) and that "Almost all of these societies are founded upon hunting and gathering and lack significant harvest periods when large reserves of food are stored." Agricultural civilization changed all of this, introducing production via the development of surplus and specialization. Supported by surplus, the priest measured time, traced celestial movement, and predicted future events. Time, controlled by a powerful elite, was used directly to control the lives of great numbers of men and women. The masters of the early calendars and their attendant lore "became a separate priestly caste," according to Lawrence Wright. A prime example was the very time-obsessed Mayans; G.J. Whitrow tells us that "of all ancient peoples, the Mayan priests developed the most elaborate and accurate astronomical calendar, and thereby gained enormous influence over the masses."

Generally speaking, Henry Elmer Barnes is quite correct that formal time concepts came with the development of agriculture. One is reminded here of the famous Old Testament curse on agriculture (Genesis 3: 17-18) at the expulsion from Paradise, which announces work and domination. With the advance of farming culture the idea of time became more defined and conceptual, and differences in the interpretation of time constituted a demarcation line between a state of nature and one of civilization, between the educated classes and the masses. It is recognized as a defining mode of the new Neolithic phenomena, as expressed by Nilsson's comment that "ancient civilized peoples appear in history with a full-developed system of time-reckoning," and by Thompson's that "the form of the calendar is basic to the form of a civilization."

## Time and the Domestication of Nature

The Babylonians gave the day 12 hours, the Hebrews gave the week 7 days, and the early notion of cyclical time, with its partial claim to a return to the beginnings, gradually succumbed to time as a linear progression. Time and the domestication of nature advanced, at a price unrivaled. "The discovery of agriculture," as Eliade claimed, "provoked upheavals and spiritual breakdowns whose magnitude the modern mind finds it well-nigh impossible to conceive." A world fell before this virulent partnership, but not without a vast struggle. So with Jacob Burckhardt we must approach history "as it were as a pathologist"; with Holderlin we still seek to know "How did it begin? Who brought the curse?"

Resuming the narrative, even up to Greek civiliza-

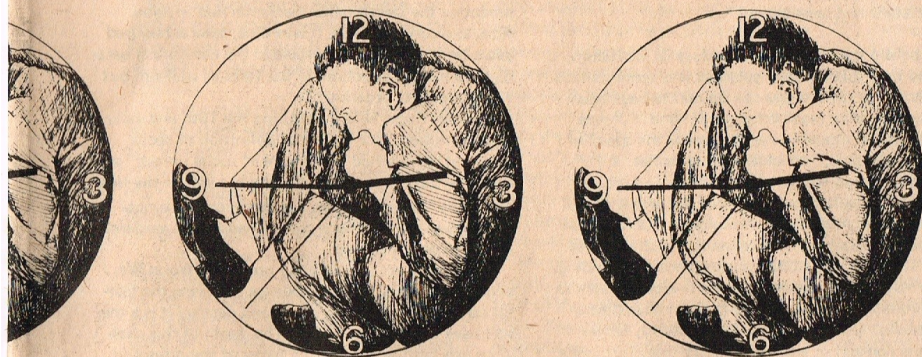
The question of time and its relationship to domination is central to understanding our captivity. John Zer-

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## FIRST LIE OF SOCIAL LIFE

## The Clock: Foundation of the Machine Age



by Lewis Mumford

**W**here did the machine first take form in modern civilization? There was plainly more than one point of origin. Our mechanical civilization represents the convergence of numerous habits, ideas, and modes of living, as well as technical instruments; and some of these were, in the beginning, directly opposed to the civilization they helped to create. But the first manifestation of the new order took place in the general picture of the world: during the first seven centuries of the machine's existence the categories of time and space underwent an extraordinary change, and no aspect of life was left untouched by this transformation.

The application of quantitative methods of thought to the study of nature had its first manifestation in the regular measurement of time; and the new mechanical conception of time arose in part out of the routine of the monastery. Alfred Whitehead has emphasized the importance of the scholastic belief in a universe ordered by God as one of the foundations of modern physics: but behind that belief was the presence of order in the institutions of the Church itself.

The technics of the ancient world were still carried on from Constantinople and Baghdad to Sicily and Cordova: hence the early lead taken by Salerno in the scientific and medical advances of the Middle Age. It was, however, in the monasteries of the West that the desire for order and power, other than that expressed in the military domination of weaker men, first manifested itself after the long uncertainty and bloody confusion that attended the breakdown of the Roman Empire. Within the walls of the monastery was sanctuary: under the rule of the order surprise and doubt and caprice and irregularity were put at bay. Opposed to the erratic fluctuations and pulsations of the worldly life was the iron discipline of the rule. Benedict added a seventh period to the devotions of the day, and in the seventh century, by a bull of Pope Sabrinianus, it was decreed that the bells of the monastery be rung seven times in the twenty-four hours. These

the hours, but of synchronizing the actions of men.

Was it by reason of the collective Christian desire to provide for the welfare of souls in eternity by regular prayers and devotions that time-keeping and the habits of temporal order took hold of men's minds: habits that capitalist civilization presently turned to good account? One must perhaps accept the irony of this paradox. At all events, by the thirteenth century there are definite records of mechanical clocks, and by 1370 a well-designed "modern" clock had been built by Heinrich von Wyck at Paris. Meanwhile, bell towers had come into existence, and the new clocks, if they did not have, till the fourteenth century, a dial and a hand that translated the movement of time into a movement through space, at all events struck the hours. The clouds that could paralyze the sundial, the freezing that could stop the water clock on a winter night, were no longer obstacles to time-keeping: summer or winter, day or night, presently spread outside the monastery; and the regular striking of the bells brought a new regularity into the life of the workman and the merchant. The bells of the clock tower almost defined urban existence. Time-keeping passed into time-serving and time-accounting and time-rationalizing. As this took place, Eternity ceased gradually to serve as the measure and focus of human actions.

The clock, not the steam-engine, is the key-machine of the modern industrial age. For every phase of its development the clock is both the outstanding fact and the typical symbol of the machine: even today no other machine is so ubiquitous. Here, at the very beginning of modern technics, appeared prophetically the accurate automatic machine which, only after centuries of further effort, was also to prove the final consummation of this technics in every department of industrial activity. There had been power-machines, such as the water-mill, before the clock; and there had also been various kinds of automata, to awaken the wonder of the populace in the temple, or to please the idle fancy of some Moslem caliph: machines one finds illustrated in Hero and Al-Jazari. But here was a new kind of power-machine, in which the source of power and the transmission were of such nature as to ensure the even flow of energy throughout the works and to make possible regular production and a standardized product. In its relationship to determinable quantities of energy, to standardization, to automatic action, and finally to its own special product, accurate timing, the clock has been the foremost machine in modern technics: and at each period it has remained in the lead: it marks a perfection toward which other machines aspire.

The clock moreover, served as a model for many other kinds of mechanical works, and the analysis of

is supposed to have created "many-wheeled watches out of small bits of iron" and by the end of the century the small domestic clock had been introduced in England and Holland.

As with the motor car and the airplane, the richer classes first took over the new mechanism and popularized it: partly because they alone could afford it, partly because the new bourgeoisie were the first to discover that, as Franklin later put it, "time is money." To become "as regular as clockwork" was the bourgeois ideal, and to own a watch was for long a definite symbol of success. The increasing tempo of civilization led to a demand for greater power: and in turn power quickened the tempo.

**Time Took On the Character of an Enclosed Space**

Now the orderly punctual life that first took shape in the monasteries is not native to mankind, although by now Western peoples are so thoroughly regimented by the clock that it is "second nature" and they look upon its observance as a fact of nature. Many Eastern civilizations have flourished on a loose basis in time: the Hindus have in fact been so indifferent to time that they lack even an authentic chronology of the years. Only yesterday, in the midst of the industrializations of Soviet Russia, did a society come into existence to further the carrying of watches there to propagandize the benefits of punctuality. The popularization of time-keeping, which followed the production of the cheap standardized watch, was essential to a well-articulated system of transportation and production.

To keep time was once a particular attribute of music: it gave industrial value to the workshop song or the tattoo or the chanty of the sailors tugging at a rope. But the effect of the mechanical clock is more pervasive and strict: it presides over the day from the hours of rising to the hour of rest. When one thinks of the day as an abstract span of time, one does not go to bed with the chickens on a winter's night: one invents wicks, chimneys, lamps, gaslights, electric lamps, so as to use all the hours belonging to the day. When one thinks of time, not as a sequence of experience, but as a collection of hours, minutes, and seconds, the habits of adding time and saving time come into existence. Time took on the character of an enclosed space: it could be divided, it could be filled up, it could even be expanded by the invention of labor-saving instruments.

Abstract time became the new medium of existence. Organic functions themselves were regulated by it: one ate, not upon feeling hungry, but when prompted by the clock: one slept, not when one was tired, but when the clock sanctioned it. A generalized time-



gler put it. This movement is also well captured by Marcuse's "History is the negation of Nature," the increasing speed of which has carried man quite outside of himself. At the heart of the process is the reigning concept of temporality itself, which was unknown to early humans.

Levy-Bruhl provides an introduction: "Our idea of time seems to be a natural attribute of the human mind. But that is a delusion. Such an idea scarcely exists where primitive mentality is concerned . . ." The Frankforts concluded that primeval thought "does not know time as uniform duration or as a succession of qualitatively indifferent moments." Rather, early individuals "lived in a stream of inner and outer experience which brought along a different cluster of coexisting events at every moment, and thus constantly changed, quantitatively and qualitatively."

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Meditating on the skull of a plains hunter-gatherer woman, Jacquetta Hawks could imagine the "eternal present in which all days, all the seasons of the plain stood in an enduring unity." In fact, life was lived in a continuous present, underlying the point that historical time is not inherent in reality but an imposition on it. The concept of time itself as an abstract, continuing "thread," unravelling in an endless progression that links all events together while remaining independent of them was completely unknown.

Henri-Charles Poesch's term "articulated atemporality" is a useful one, which reflects the fact that awareness of intervals, for instance, existed with the absence of an explicit sense of time. The relationship of subject to object was radically different, clearly, before temporal distance intruded into the psyche. Perception was not the detached act we know now, involving the distance that allows an externalization and domination of nature.

Of course, we can see the reflections of this original condition in surviving tribal peoples, in varying degrees. Wax said of the nineteenth century Pawnee Indians, "Life had a rhythm but not a progression." The Hopi language employs no references to past, present or future. Further in the direction of history, time is explicit in Tiv thought and speech, but is not a category of it, just as another African group, the Nuer, have no concept of time as a separate idea. The fall into time is a gradual one; just as the early Egyptians kept two clocks, measuring everyday cycles and uniform "objective" time, the Balinese calendar "doesn't tell what time it is, but rather what kind of time it is."

In terms of the original, hunter-gatherer humanity generally referred to above, a few words may be in order, especially inasmuch as there has been a "nearly complete reversal in anthropological orthodoxy" concerning it since the end of the 1960s. Life prior to the earliest agricultural societies of about 10,000 years ago had been seen as nasty, short and brutish, but the

cipation with his universe and with his community begins to disintegrate" with the acquiring of time. Seidenberg also detected this loss, in which our ancestor "found himself diverging ever farther from his instinctual harmony along a precarious path of unstable synthesis. And that path is history."

### From Totemism to Religion

Coming back to the mythic dimension, as in the generalized ancient memory of an original Eden—the reality of which was hunter-gatherer life—we confront the magical practices found in all races and early societies. What is seen here, as opposed to the time-bound mode of technology, is an atemporal intervention aimed at the "reinstatement of the usual uniformities of nature." It is this primary human interest in the regularity, not the supersession, of the processes of nature

that bears emphasizing. Related to magic is totemism, in which the kinship of all living things is paramount; with magic and its totemic context, participation with nature underlies all.

"In pure totemism," says Frazer, ". . . the totem [ancestor, patron] is never a god and is never worshipped." The step from participation to religion, from communion with the world to externalized deities for worship, is a part of the alienation process of emerging time. Ratschow held the rise of historical consciousness responsible for the collapse of magic and its replacement by religion, an essential connection. In much the same sense, then, did Durkheim consider time to be "a product of religious thought." Eliade saw this gathering separation and related it to social life: "the more extravagant myths and rituals, Gods and Goddesses of the most various kinds, the Ancestors, masks and secret societies, temples, priesthoods, and so on—all this is found in cultures that have passed beyond the stage of gathering and small-game hunting . . ."

Elman Service found the band societies of the hunter-gatherer stage to have been "surprisingly" egalitarian and marked by the absence not only of authoritarian chiefs, but of specialists, intermediaries of any kind, division of labor, and classes. Civilization, as Freud repeatedly pointed out, with alienation at its core, had to break the early hold of timeless and non-productive gratification.

In that long, original epoch, alienation first began to appear in the shape of time, although many tens of thousands of years' resistance stayed its definitive victory, its conversion into history. Spatialization, which is the motor of technology, can be traced back to the earliest sad experience of deprivation through time, back to the beginning efforts to offset the passage of time by extension in space. The injunction of Genesis to "Be fruitful and multiply" was seen by Cioran as "criminal." Possibly he could see in it the first

calendar, and thereby gained enormous influence over the masses." A new year had been born.

Generally speaking, Henry Elmer Barnes is quite correct that formal time concepts came with the development of agriculture. One is reminded here of the famous Old Testament curse on agriculture (Genesis 3: 17-18) at the expulsion from Paradise, which announces work and domination. With the advance of farming culture the idea of time became more defined and conceptual, and differences in the interpretation of time constituted a demarcation line between a state of nature and one of civilization, between the educated classes and the masses. It is recognized as a defining mode of the new Neolithic phenomena, as expressed by Nilsson's comment that "ancient civilized peoples appear in history with a full-developed system of time-reckoning," and by Thompson's that "the form of the calendar is basic to the form of a civilization."

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Resuming the narrative, even up to Greek civiliza-

The question of time and its relationship to domination is central to understanding our captivity. John's article attempts to come to grips with this very difficult subject; while what follows is often critical of his attempt, I do not want to slight its radical intent or the hard work he put into it. Nor should these criticisms obscure the fact that it is an important introduction to the question of time: it helps us to see our perception of time as unnatural, as something imposed upon us, as a force to be overthrown if we are to liberate ourselves.

John's original manuscript contained 109 footnotes, comprising an extensive reading list on the subject. I'm sorry that space limitations and our unwillingness to typeset the footnotes will prevent readers from having ready access to his sources. These sources stimulated me to do my own reading on the subject; and if from that reading (and my own reflections) I conclude that there are some fundamental problems with John's argument, I nevertheless acknowledge that he provides an opening to what promises to be a fruitful dialogue.

While it might seem trivial to begin by complaining about John's extensive use of quotations, I think it reveals something more significant than a hesitant or unsure writing style. Many of us had the same impression upon reading the article: we think it would have been more interesting if he had said more things in his own words; but more importantly, some of us feel that he uses quotes in ways that do not strengthen his argument. Some of these quotes seem tangential to the main argument. Others seem to have different meanings than what he attributes to them, or are torn from their contexts, defeating understanding. This suggests to me that John is unsure about what he is trying to say, or unaware of some of

time did resistance flourish. In fact, even with Socrates and Plato and the primacy of systematic philosophy, was time at least held at bay, precisely because "forgetting" timeless beginnings was still regarded as the chief obstacle to wisdom or salvation. J.B. Bury's classic *The Idea of Progress* pointed out the "widely-spread belief" in Greece that the human race had decidedly degenerated from an initial "golden age of simplicity"—a longstanding bar to the progress of the idea of progress. Christianson found the anti-progress attitude later yet: "The Romans, no less than the Greeks and Babylonians, also clung to various notions of cyclical recurrence in time . . ."

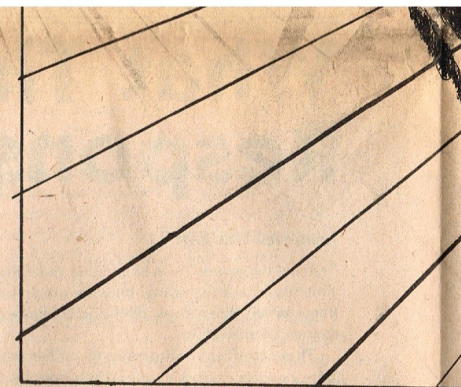
With Judaism and Christianity, however, time very clearly sharpened itself into a linear progression. Here

## What Time Is

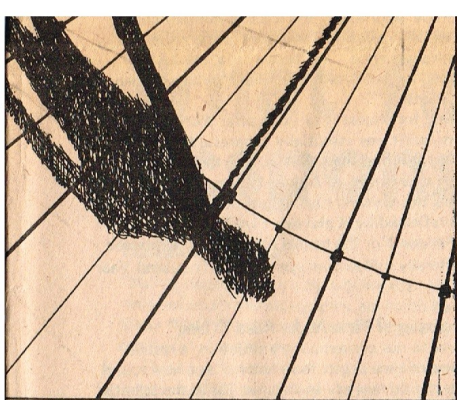
the implications of his arguments. Perhaps we should treat his argument as a suggestive, impressionistic effort rather than as "something done."

One of John's central contentions is that "alienation begins to appear in the shape of time." He believes that a sense of time gradually emerges out of "no-time", the primordial unity of hunter-gatherer life. Although it is unclear to me how this sense of time "intrudes upon the human psyche," (at one point John says a sense of time emerges in early infancy) it's consequence is said to be anxiety and separation—the genesis of alienation. Once people acquire a sense of time, anxiety drives them to "spatialization," the subduing and control of space, as a kind of compensation. John calls the "large growth of human numbers" the "first spatialization"; he believes it responsible for the progressive breakdown of hunter-gatherer life and the emergence of the "division of labor and other ensuing separations." Spatialization is the high road to domination, setting in motion a process which culminates in fixed property, cities, and the state. Each new surge of spatialization leads to a further refinement in the sense of time, until the emergence of linear time and history, a "radical departure." From which point on we can say that time, alienation, and domination have become one in their dominion over the human being.

It seems to me that the sticking point in this argument is what caused a sense of time to emerge in the first place. As in all attempts to account for the origins of alienation or domination, it is difficult indeed to







was a radical departure, as the urgency of time seized upon humanity. Its standard features were outlined by Augustine, not coincidentally at one of the most catastrophic moments of world history—the collapse of the ancient world and the fall of Rome. Augustine definitively attacked cyclical time, portraying a unitary mankind that advances irreversibly through time; appearing about 400 A.D., it is the first notable theory of history.

As if to emphasize the Christian stamp on triumphant linear time, one soon finds, in feudal Europe, the first instance of daily life ruled by a strict time-table: the monastery. Run like a clock, organized and absolute, the monastery confined the individual in time just

Continued on Page 8

## Is It? A Response to Zerzan

answer the question John poses: who brought the curse?

It is unclear to me how John deals with this question. He seems to believe that population growth gradually brought forth social changes which resulted in domination. But if, as he says, the large growth of human numbers is "the first spatialization," and spatialization is a compensation for a sense of time, then a sense of time (and the origins of alienation) must have preceded the increase in population. This leads to the dismal conclusion that, once having acquired a sense of time, people tried deliberately or otherwise to increase their numbers in order to ameliorate their sense of deprivation. Reproduction leads to domination. Furthermore, we still haven't located the origin, or cause, of the emergence of time. Perhaps the answer is to be found later in the article, where John says alienation in time can be traced to early infancy. What, then, is there which distinguishes this position from the pessimistic "bourgeois" conclusion that "domination was the natural outcome of population pressures"; or from the even more pessimistic conclusion that alienation has ontological status—that all individuals, and all cultures, experience time, and hence alienation? The human being as the "alienated animal."

Although it is necessary, on the basis of John's argument, to accept so dismal a conclusion, we should not be deterred from questioning the merits of the argument itself. It seems to me unnecessary to accept John's equation that a sense of time equals alienation,

running seven times in the twenty-four hours. These punctuation marks in the day were known as the canonical hours, and some means of keeping count of them and ensuring their regular repetition became necessary.

According to a now discredited legend, the first modern mechanical clock, worked by falling weights, was invented by the monk named Gerbert who afterwards became Pope Sylvester II near the close of the tenth century. This clock was probably only a water clock, one of those bequests of the ancient world left over directly from the days of the Romans, like the water-wheel itself, or coming back again into the West through the Arabs. But the legend, as so often happens, is accurate in its implications if not in its facts. The monastery was the seat of a regular life, and an instrument for striking the hours at intervals or for reminding the bell-ringer that it was time to strike the bells, was an almost inevitable product of this life. If the mechanical clock did not appear until the cities of the thirteenth century demanded an orderly routine, the habit of order itself and the earnest regulation of time-sequences had become almost second nature in the monastery. Coulton agrees with Sombart in looking upon the Benedictines, the great working order, as perhaps the original founders of modern capitalism: their rule certainly took the curse off work and their vigorous engineering enterprises may even have robbed warfare of some of its glamor. So one is not straining the facts when one suggests that the monasteries—at one time there were 40,000 under Benedictine rule—helped to give human enterprise the regular collective beat and rhythm of the machine; for the clock is not merely a means of keeping track of

I think his linkage of the two is the result of a failure to appreciate that primitive people have a rich and subtle time-sense. Or we could put it differently: what John calls "no-time" is identical to the psychological experience others have called "primordial" or "biological" time. If he could see how different this primitive time-sense was from our own abstract, linear, alienated sense of time, then he might be less inclined to equate alienation with any and all senses of time.

In a sense, John is aware of this distinction among different cultural perceptions of time, referring to distinctions among kinds and qualities of time. This is one of the most confusing and exasperating things about the article: if John wants to make such a sharp distinction between "no-time" and "alienation in time," why these qualifications and discriminations? Doesn't the delineation of "formal time concepts" or "official time" imply that an informal, unofficial, "vernacular" sense of time exists in opposition to it? Likewise, when John writes that "differences in the interpretation of time constituted a demarcation line between a state of nature and one of civilization," is this not tantamount to saying that people in the state of nature perceive and interpret some sort of time? What exactly is meant by a "qualitative sense of time" (which he appears to think is a good thing to have)? And why does he call the emergence of linear time a

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other kinds of mechanical works, and the analysis of motion that accompanied the clock, with the various types of gearing and transmission that were elaborated, contributed to the success of quite different kinds of machine. Smiths could have hammered thousands of suits of armor or thousands of iron cannon, wheelwrights could have shaped thousands of great water-wheels or crude gears, without inventing any of the special types of movement developed in clockwork, and without any of the accuracy of measurement and fineness of articulation that finally produced the accurate eighteenth century chronometer.

### Mechanical Time is Even More Foreign

The clock, moreover, is a piece of power-machinery whose "product" is seconds and minutes: by its essential nature it dissociated time from human events and

**Abstract time became the new medium of existence. Organic functions themselves were regulated by it: one ate, not upon feeling hungry, but when prompted by the clock: one slept, not when one was tired, but when the clock sanctioned it.**

helped create the belief in an independent world of mathematically measurable sequences: the special world of science. There is relatively little foundation for this belief in common human experience: throughout the year the days are of uneven duration, and not merely does the relation between day and night steadily change, but a slight journey from East to West alters astronomical time by a certain number of minutes.

In terms of the human organism itself, mechanical time is even more foreign: while human life has regularities of its own, the beat of the pulse, the breathing of the lungs, these change from hour to hour with mood and action, and in the longer span of days, time is measured not by the calendar but by the events that occupy it. The shepherd measures from the time the ewes lamb: the farmer measures back to the day of sowing or forward to the harvest: if growth has its own duration and regularities, behind it are not simply matter and motion but fact of development: in short, history.

And while mechanical time is strung out in a succession of mathematically isolated instants, organic time—what Bergson calls duration—is cumulative in its effects. Though mechanical time can, in a sense, be speeded up or run backward like the hands of a clock or the images of a moving picture, organic time moves in only one direction—through the cycle of birth, growth, development, decay and death—and the past that is already dead remains present in the future that has still to be born.

Around 1345, according to Thorndyke, the division of hours into sixty minutes and of minutes into sixty seconds became common: it was this abstract framework of divided time that became more and more the point of reference for both action and thought, and in the effort to arrive at accuracy in this department, the astronomical exploration of the sky focussed attention further upon the regular, implacable movements of the heavenly bodies through space. Early in the sixteenth century a young Nuremberg mechanic, Peter Heinlein,

when the clock sanctioned it. A generalized time-consciousness accompanied the wider use of clocks: dissociating time from organic sequences, it became easier for the men of the Renaissance to indulge the fantasy of reviving the classic past or of reliving the splendors of antique Roman civilization: the cult of history, appearing first in daily ritual, finally abstracted itself as a special discipline. In the seventeenth century journalism and periodic literature made their appearance: even in dress, following the lead of Venice as fashion center, people altered styles every year rather than every generation.

The gain in mechanical efficiency through co-ordination and through the closer articulation of the day's events cannot be over-estimated: while this increase cannot be measured in mere horsepower, one has only to imagine its absence today to foresee the speedy dis-

ruption and eventual collapse of our entire society. The modern industrial regime could do without coal and iron and steam easier than it could do without the clock. . . .

The new attitude toward time and space infected the workshop and the counting house, the army and the city. The tempo became faster: the magnitudes became greater: conceptually, modern culture launched itself into space and gave itself over to movement. What Max Weber called the "romanticism of numbers" grew naturally out of this interest. In time-keeping, in trading, in fighting men counted numbers; and finally, as the habit grew, only numbers counted.

## Notes on Time Articles

"Beginning of Time, End of Time" by John Zerzan is extensively footnoted, but they were deleted for reasons of space. His 109 citations are a valuable bibliography in themselves and may be obtained from the author at Be Free, Box 11331, Eugene OR 97440. "The Clock: Foundation of the Machine Age" is the title we have appended to a section from Lewis Mumford's excellent *Technics and Civilization* which is available at most public libraries.

Some other readings on the subject of time include: *Political Philosophy and Time*, by John G. Gunnell; *The Political Philosophy of Symbolic Forms*, by Ernst Cassirer; and a curious section on time in *The Eighth Night of Creation* by Jerome Deshusses.



# Beginning of Time,

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as its walls confined him in space. The Church was the first power to conjoin the measurement of time and a temporally ordered mode of life, a project it pursued vigorously. The invention of the striking and wheeled clock by Pope Sylvester II, in the year 1000, is thus quite fitting. The Benedictine order, in particular, has been seen by Coulton, Sombart, Mumford and others as perhaps the original founder of modern capitalism. The Benedictines, who ruled 40,000 monasteries at their height, helped crucially to yoke human endeavor to the regular, collective beat and rhythm of the machine, reminding us that the clock is not merely a means of keeping track of the hours, but of synchronizing human action.

In the Middle Ages, specifically the 14th century, the march of time met a resistance unequalled in scope, quite possibly, since the Neolithic revolution of agriculture. This claim can be assessed by a comparison of very basic developments of time and social revolt, which seems to indicate a definite and profound collision of the two.

With the 1300s quantified, official time stakes its claim to the colonization of modern life, time then became fully abstracted into a uniform series of units, points and sections. The technology of the verge escapement early in the century produced the first modern mechanical clock, symbol of a qualitatively new era of confinement now dawning as temporal associations became completely separate from nature. Public clocks appear, and around 1345 the division of hours into sixty minutes and of minutes into sixty seconds became common, among other new conventions and usages across Europe. The new exactitude carried a tighter synchronization forward, essential to a new level of domestication. Glasser remarked on the "loss of poetry and immediacy in personal experience" caused by time's new power, and reflected that this manifestation of time replaced the movement and radiance of the day by its utilization as a temporal unit. Days, hours, and minutes became interchangeable like the standardized parts and work processes they prefigured.

These decisive and oppressive changes must have been at the heart of the great social revolts that coincided with them. Textile workers, peasants, and city poor shook the norms and barriers of society to the point of dissolution, in risings such as that of Flanders between 1323 and 1328, the *Jacquerie* of France in 1358, and the English revolt of 1381, to name only the three most prominent. The millennial character of revolutionary insurgence at this time, which in Bohemia and Germany existed even into the early 16th century, underlines the unmistakable time element and recalls earlier examples of longing for an original, unmediated condition. The mystical anarchism of the Free Spirit in England sought the state of nature, for

vation concerning the early 15th century, that "the first virtue of the humanist is a sense of time."

How else could modernity be achieved but by the new dimensions reached by time and technology together, their distinctive and perfected mating? Lilley noted that "the most complex machines produced by the Middle Ages were mechanical clocks," just as Mumford saw that "the clock, not the steam-engine, is the key machine of the modern industrial age." Marx too found here the first basis of machine industry: "The clock is the first automatic machine applied to practical purposes, and the whole theory of production of regular motion was developed on it." Another telling congruence is the fact that, in the mid-15th century, the first document known to have been printed on Gutenberg's press was a calendar (not a bible). And it is noteworthy that the end of millenarian revolt, such as that of the Taborites of Bohemia in the 15th century and the Anabaptists of Munster in the early 16th

Later in the 17th century, Milton's *Paradise Lost* sides with victorious time, to the point of denigrating the timeless, paradisaical state:

with labour I must earn  
My bread; what harm?  
Idleness had been worse.

Well before the beginnings of industrial capitalism, then, had time substantially subdued and synchronized life. Advancing technology can be said to have been borne by the earlier breakthroughs of time. "It was the beginning of modern time that made the speed of technology possible," concluded Octavio Paz. E.P. Thompson's widely-known "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism" described the industrializing of time, but, more fundamentally, it was time that did the industrializing, the great daily life struggles of the late 18th and early 19th centuries notwithstanding.

In terms of the modern era, again one can discern in social revolts the definite aspect of time refusal, however inchoate. In the very late 18th century, for instance, the context of two revolutions, one must judge, helped Kant see that space and time are not part of the empirical world but part of our acquired intersubjective faculties. It is a non-revolutionary twist that a new, though short-lived, calendar was introduced by the French revolution—not resistance to time, but its renewal under new management! Walter Benjamin wrote of actual time refusal vis-a-vis the July Revolu-

reproduction is aided especially by the reproduction of masses. . . ." But one could go much further and say simply that mass reproduction *is* the reproduction of masses, or the mass-man. Mass production itself with its standardized, interchangeable parts and wage-labor to match constitutes a fascism of everyday life long predating the fascist rallies Benjamin had in mind. And, as described above, it was time, several hundred years before that, which provided the categorical paradigm to mass production, in the form of uniform but discrete quanta ordering life.

Stewart Ewen held that during the 19th and early 20th centuries, "the industrial definition of social time and space stood at the core of social unrest," and this is certainly true; however, the breadth of the time and space "issue" requires a rather broad historical perspective to allow for a comprehension of modernity's unfolding mass age.

That the years immediately preceding World War I expressed a rising radical challenge requiring the fearful carnage of the war to divert and destroy it is a thesis I have argued elsewhere.\* The depth of this challenge can best be plumbed in terms of the refusal of time. The contemporary tension between the domains of being and of time was first elucidated by Bergson in the pre-war period in his protest against the fragmentary and repressive character of mechanistic time. With his distrust of science, Bergson argued that a qualitative sense of time, of lived experience or *duree*, requires a resistance to formalized, spatialized time. Though limited, his outlook announced the renewal of a developing opposition to a tyranny that had come to inform so many elements of subjugation.

## The Anti-Time Spirit Was Essentially Suppressed

Most of this century's anti-time impulse was rather fully articulated in the quickening movement just prior to the war. Cubism's urgent re-examination of appearances belongs here, of course; by smashing visual perspective, which had prevailed since the early Renaissance, the Cubists sought to apprehend reality as it was, not as it looked at a moment in time. It is this which enabled John Berger to judge that "the Cubist formula presupposed. . . for the first time in history, man living unalienated from nature."

Einstein and Minkowski also bespoke the time revolt context with the well-known scrapping of the Newtonian universe based on absolute time and space. In music, Arnold Schonberg liberated dissonance from the prevailing false positivity's restraints, and Stravinsky explicitly attacked temporal limitations in a variety of new ways, as did Proust, Joyce, and others in literature. All modes of expression, according to Donald Lowe, "rejected the linear perspective of visibility and Archimedean reason, in that crucial decade of 1905-1915!"

In the 1920's, Heidegger emphasized time as the central concept for contemporary metaphysics and as forming the essential structure of subjectivity. But the devastating impact of the war had deeply altered the sense of possibilities within social reality. *Being and Time* (1927), in fact, far from questioning time, surrendered to it completely as the only vantage that allows understanding of being. Related, in the parallel provided by Adorno, is "the trick of military command, which dresses up imperative in the guise of a predicative sentence. . . . Heidegger, too, cracks the





mediated condition. The mystical anarchism of Free Spirit in England sought the state of nature, for example, as did the famous proverb stressed by the rebel John Ball: "When Adam dived and Eve span, Who then was a gentleman?" Very instructive is a meditation of the radical mystic Suso, of Cologne, at about 1330:

'Whence have you come?' The image (appearing to Suso) answers: 'I come from nowhere.' 'Tell me, what are you?' 'I am not.' 'What do you wish?' 'I do not wish.' 'This is a miracle! Tell me, what is your name?' 'I am called Nameless Wildness.' 'Where does your insight lead to?' 'To untrammelled freedom.' 'Tell me, what do you call untrammelled freedom?' 'When a man lives according to all his caprices without distinguishing between God and himself, and without looking before or after . . .'

The desire "to hold all things in common," to abolish rank and hierarchy, and, even more so, Suso's explicitly anti-time utterance, reveal the most extreme desires of 14th century social revolt and demonstrate its element of time refusal.

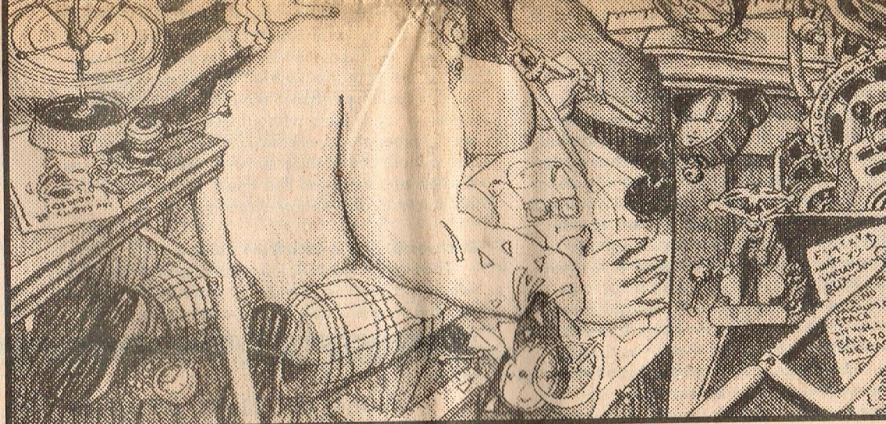
The celebration of the Feast of Fools, which reached its height in Europe at this time, was a mocking of religious authority. It involved a grotesquely costumed figure representing the higher clergy, led into church seated backwards on an ass with garments inside out, and dancing or reversing the order of the liturgy.

Also, it is not inconceivable that the Black Plague, which decimated Europe from 1348 to 1350, was in a sense a massive, visceral reaction to the attack of modern time.

This watershed in the late medieval period can also be understood via art, where the measured space of perspective followed the measured time of the clocks. Before the 14th century there was no attempt at perspective because the painter attempted to record things as they are, not as they look. After the 14th century, an acute time sense informs art: "Not so much a place as a moment is fixed for us, and a fleeting moment: a point of view in time more than in space," as Bronowski described it. Similarly, Yi-Fu Tuan pointed out that the landscape picture, which appeared only with the 15th century, represented a major reordering of time as well as space with its perspective.

Motion is stressed by perspective's transformation of the simultaneity of space into a happening in time which, returning to the theme of spatialization, shows us in another way that a "quantum leap" in time had occurred. Movement again became a source of values following the defeat of the 14th century resistance to time; a new level of spatialization was involved, as seen most clearly in the emergence of the modern map, in the 15th century, and the ensuing age of the great voyages. Braudel's phrase, modern civilization's "war against empty space," is best understood in this light.

"The new valuation of Time, which then broke to the surface, actually became one of the most powerful agencies by which Western thought, at the end of the Middle Ages, was transformed . . ." was Kantorowicz's way of expressing the new, strengthened hegemony of time. If in this objective temporal order of official, legal, factual time only the spatial found the possibility of real expression, all thinking would be necessarily shifted, and also brought to heel. A good deal of this reorientation can be found in Le Goff's simple obser-



Time, please, gentlemen. drawing/Stephen Goodfellow century, coincided with the perfection and spread of the mechanical clock: In Peter Breughel's *The Triumph of Time* (1574), the many objects and ideas of the painting are dominated by the figure of the modern clock.

#### Official Time—A Barrier to Communication

This triumph, as noted above, awakened a great spatial urge by way of compensation: circumnavigating the globe and the discovery, suddenly, of vast new lands, for example. But just as certain is its relationship to "the progressive disrealization of the world," in the words of Charles Newman, which began at this time. Extension, in the form of domination, obviously accentuated alienation from the world: a totally fitting accompaniment to the dawning of modern history.

Official time had become a barrier both palpable and all-pervasive, filtering and distorting what people said to each other. As of this time, it unmistakably imposed a new distance on human relations and restraint on emotional responses. A Renaissance hallmark, the search for rare manuscripts and classical antiquities, is one form of a longing to withstand this powerful time. But the battle had been decided, and abstract time had become the milieu, the new framework of existence. When Ellul opined that "the whole structure of being" was now permeated by "mechanical abstraction and rigidity," he referred most centrally to the time dimension.

All this bloomed in the 1600s, from Bacon who first proclaimed modernity's domination of nature and Descartes's formulation regarding the *maîtres et possesseurs de la nature*, which "predicted the imperialistic control of nature which characterizes modern science," including Galileo and the whole ensemble of the century's scientific revolution. Life and nature became mere quantity, the unique lost its strength, and soon the Newtonian image of the world as a clock-like mechanism prevailed. Equivalence—with uniform time as its real model—came to rule, in a development that made "the dissimilar comparable by reducing it to abstract quantities."

The poet Ciriaco de Pers understood that the clock made time scarce and life short. To him, it

Speeds on the course of the fleeing century.  
And to make it open up,  
Knocks every hour at the tomb.

tion of 1830, noting the fact that in early fighting "the clocks in towers were being fired on simultaneously and independently from several places in Europe." He quoted an eyewitness the following verse:

Who would have believed! We are told that new Joshuas at the foot of every tower, as though irritated with time itself, fired at the dials in order to stop the day.

Not that moments of insurgency are the only occasions of sensitivity to time's tyranny. According to Poulet, no one felt more grievously the metamorphosis of time into something quite infernal than did Baudelaire, who wrote of the malcontents "who have refused redemption by work," who wanted "to possess immediately, on this very earth, a Paradise"; these he termed "Slaves martyred by Time," a notion echoed by Rimbaud's denunciation of the scandal of an existence in time. These two poets suffered in the long, dark night of capital's mid- and late-19th century ascendancy, though it could be argued that their awareness of time was made clearest via their active participation, respectively, in the 1848 revolution and the Commune of 1871.

#### A Museum of Bygone Evils

Samuel Butler's utopian *Erewhon* portrayed workers who destroyed their machines lest their machines destroy them. Its opening theme derives from the incident of wearing a watch, and later a visitor's watch is rather forcibly retired to a museum of bygone evils. Very much in this spirit, and from the same era, are these lines of Robert Louis Stevenson:

You may dally as long as you like by the roadside. It is almost as if the millenium were arrived, when we shall throw our clocks and watches over the house-top, and remember time and seasons no more. Not to keep hours for a lifetime is, I was going to say, to live forever. You have no idea, unless you have tried it, how endlessly long is a summer's day, that you measure out only by hunger, and bring to an end only when you are drowsy.

Referring to such phenomena as huge political rallies, Benjamin's "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction" made the point that "Mass

predicative sentence. . . . Heidegger, too, cracks the whip when he italicizes the auxiliary verb in the sentence, 'Death is.'"

Indeed, for almost fifty years after World War I the anti-time spirit was essentially suppressed. By the 1930's one could still find signs of it in, say, the Surrealist movement, or novels of Aldous Huxley, but predominant was the renewed rush of technology and domination, as reflected by K atayev's Five-Year-Plan novel *Time, Forward!* or the bestial deformation expressed in the literally millenarian symbol, the Thousand Year Reich.

#### The Beginning of Time As An Alien "Thing"

Nearer to our contemporary situation, a restive awareness of time began to re-emerge as a new round of contestation neared. In the mid-1950s the scientist N.J. Berrill interrupted a fairly dispassionate book to comment on the predominant desire in society "to get from nowhere to nowhere in nothing flat," observing, "And still a minute can embrace eternity and a month be empty of meaning." Still more startling, he cried out that "For a long time I have felt trapped in time, like a prisoner searching desperately for some avenue of escape." Perhaps an unlikely quarter from which to hear such an articulation, but another man of science made a similar statement forty years before, just as World War I was about to quell insurgence for decades; Wittgenstein noted, "Only a man who lives not in time but in the present is happy."

Children, of course, live in a now and want their gratification now, if we are looking for subjects for the idea that only the present can be total. Alienation in time, the beginning of time as an alien "thing", begins in early infancy, as early as the maternity ward, though Joost Meerloo is correct that "With every trauma in life, every new separation, the awareness of time grows."

Raoul Vaneigem supplied the conscious element, outlining perfectly the function of schooling: "The child's days escape adult time; their time is swollen by subjectivity, passion, dreams haunted by reality. Outside, the educators look on, waiting, watch in hand, till the child joins and fits the cycle of the hours." The levels of conditioning reflect, of course, the dimensions of a world so emptied, so exquisitely alienated that time has completely robbed us of the present. "Every passing second drags me from the moment that was to the moment that will be. Every second spirits me away from myself; now never exists," Vaneigem insists.

Consider Jacques Ellul, *The Technological System* (New York, 1980), as to whether it is time or technology that "comes first." All of the basic, society-dominating traits he attributes to technology are, more basically, those of time. Perhaps a tell-tale sign that he is still one remove away from the most fundamental level is the spatial character of his conclusion that "technology is the only place where form and being are identical."

The repetitious, routine nature of industrial life is the obvious product of time and technology. An important aspect of time-less hunter-gatherer life was the unique, sporadic quality of its activities, rather than the repetitive; numbers and time apply to the quantitative, not the qualitative. In this regard, Richard

\*See John Zerzan "Origin and Meaning of World War I" in Telos, No. 49 available from Telos, Post Office Box 3111, St. Louis MO 63130, for \$5.50 postpaid.

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# bits of the world in brief



**GREEK LIBERTARIANS:** As of May 14, Greek libertarians, Photis Danatos and Kyriakos Miras were in their 54th day of a hunger strike. They were arrested on the apparently minor charge of "hooliganism"—a catch-all charge used to imprison protestors (peaceful or otherwise). The arrests took place during a march (to protest at the "suiciding" and torture of prisoners in Greece under the so-called "socialists") that took place in Piraeus when a motorist (presumably a provocateur/extremist) drove into the crowd so as to break up the march. In the resulting melee the two—who were in the crowd protesting and are known by the police as "politicals"—were picked up and they have been in prison ever since.

Both prisoners have been subject to arrest on many other occasions: each charge being minor, but cumulatively amounting to a form of harassment and intimidation for their persistence in voicing dissent against the continuing authoritarian measures meted out by the supposedly more liberal government.

The media in Greece has attempted to suppress all news of the hunger strike and the reasons why Photis and Kyriakos are taking this extreme action. Nevertheless there has been a tremendous amount of support for the two. On the 1st and 8th of April demonstrations took place outside the parliament buildings. On the 17th of April 2,500 people in Aigaleo marched to Korydalu Prison, where the two are held. On April 29, the day after there was a deputation to the Minister of Justice about the case, another march took place, which was violently attacked by the police.

**AS WE GO TO PRESS:** the Greek government has pardoned Photis and Kyriakos, finally giving way to public pressure, ending their hunger strike on its 55th day. A third comrade, Logovitis, however, who had also been jailed, refused to accept the hypocritical offering of the state until the

**Black & Green?** In Bonn, W. Germany, Werner Vogel, the eldest member of the anti-NATO Green Party (an alliance of anti-nukers, ecologists and feminists) said he would resign the seat he won in Parliament after finally admitting he had once been a Nazi stormtrooper. Vogel, as oldest member of the Bundestag, was scheduled to preside over the first session of the body in March until a permanent speaker was elected. Vogel, at first refused to resign, saying he had done nothing wrong, but finally succumbed to Party pressure and quit.

**Yippie Phone Code:** Clearly frustrated by Ma Bell technology, the Yippies have finally admitted that, due to a new, "undecipherable system inhogurated" by the phone company, their people's operators will be unable to break the 1983 Credit Card code. The Yippies had been providing hours of free dialing pleasure for the last eight years. They do, however, have some alternative suggestions for those insistent upon not giving any extra cash to the profit-swollen, government-protected monopoly. For info on free fone service write them at Overthrow, Box 392, Canal Street Station, NYC 10013 (212/533-5028), and include a buck to cover the cost of their newspaper.

**Militant Vegetarians:** Calling for McDonald's garbagefood chain to: provide a non-animal product (lentil, soy, etc.) in their 4,000 (!) world-wide outlets, and to institute the use of recycled or cotton paper products (instead of destroying millions of trees in order to litter our neighborhoods with their throwaway containers), 30 or so groups from around the world have united to demand a boycott of their restaurants. Attempts to reform this monstrous corporation are nothing that excite us here at the Fifth Estate, but the attempt of this group to bring attention to what it means to eat at the Mac

groups at: AV, Box 5333, Takoma Park MD 20912 (301/270-3444).

**Inside agitators:** The Nuclear Regulatory Commission recently sent a bulletin to the nation's atomic power plants alerting operators of an increase in acts of "insider" sabotage by employees. "It's not a mushrooming crime wave or anything," said NRC official Edward Jordan hopefully, but he said the commission is receiving more reports of "deliberate acts directed against plant equipment in vital areas" than it did three or four years ago. The May 4 bulletin did not itemize instances of such sabotage, but it was understood they involved such acts as cutting control wires, dumping metal chips into the lubricating oil of reactor coolant pumps and tampering with valves to release radioactive gas. Hey, don't worry, those plants are safe.

**Anarchist Radio:** The French Anarchist Federation sponsored Radio-Libertaire is one of the Free Radios broadcasting in Paris since their underground transmissions began in September 1981. (See FE Winter 1982-1983 issue.) Radio-Libertaire was not, however, assigned a frequency when the French government finally made its pronouncement on the assignment of the Paris FM airwaves last May 6. *Le Monde Libertaire* (the Parisian anarchist weekly) denounced the decision which it says was clearly political. The May 12 issue of the paper lists the stations which were granted a frequency and characterizes them as "commercial, religious or affiliates of official political parties."

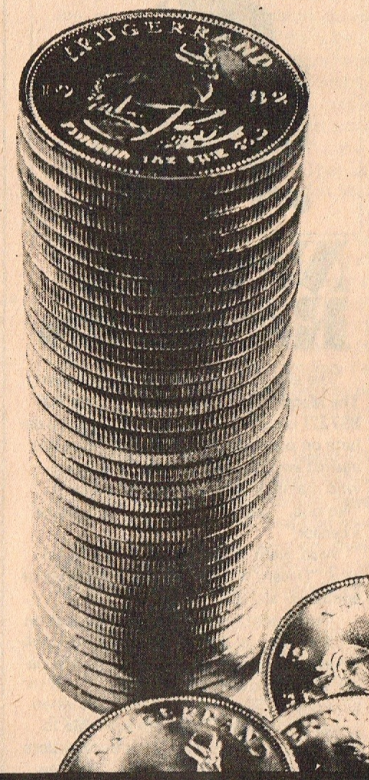
Their editorial continues: "There's been so much noise about the great liberality of the socialist-communist government. Many were led to believe that freedom of expression, one of the warhorses of the left, was going to become a concrete reality on the FM dial. Although we had absolutely no illusions about the 'wild' desire of our 'governors' to give broadcasting rights to anarchists, the outlawing of



RADIO LIBERTAIRE INTERDITE PAR LE POUVOIR

## THE GOLDEN RULE

Yes, he who has the gold rules!



Radio-Libertaire nevertheless constitutes one step along the road of statist repression which will, in all likelihood, only increase. It seems inevitable that from now on, having to confront economic and political difficulties, the statist in power (whatever their faction) will have to do, willingly or under pressure, what the logic of power makes unavoidable: wield the stick."

Their outrage stems from the blatantly political nature of the decision. They remain committed to broadcasting anarchist views and point to the high ratings Radio-Libertaire got in listener polls.

The May 19 issue of *Le Monde Libertaire* reports an interesting prelude to the government's May ruling. Last January, the communications authority asked Radio-Libertaire and the Gay station to share a frequency. Both groups refused. Later, the state wanted R-L to share a frequency with a student group which is ideologically close to the government in power and which has powerful financial backing. Radio-Libertaire rejected this proposal too. Both these groups were assigned a frequency in the May 6th decree, while Radio-Libertaire was left out.

subsequent issues of *Le Monde Libertaire* list the program schedule. They have every intention of continuing Radio-Libertaire—if necessary, as a pirate station.

The paper asks both for financial support for the radio station as well as for their readers to protest to the Prime Minister about this decision of the communications authorities. Such projects put anarchists in an ambiguous position.

*Le Monde Libertaire* newspaper and Radio Libertaire are part of the French Federation Anarchiste and may be contacted at 145, rue Amelot 75011 Paris France. Radio Libertaire is in need of funds and sells t-shirts at \$10 and badges for \$1.

**Mobilization for Animals** is an international group of people dedicated to ending the continuing torture of animals in laboratory experiments, cruelty in the food production system, hideous forms of hunting and slaughtering of animals for sport and for luxury apparel. Every penny they raise goes directly to help the animals in an attempt to stop this society's relentless war against wildlife which lays waste to our planet at the same time that it



had also been jailed, refused to accept the hypocritical offering of the state until the government abolishes the laws used to intimidate protest against the authorities.

but the attempt of this group to bring attention to what it means to eat at the Mac has our support. Death to Ronald McDonald! You can contact the sponsoring

**RADIO LIBERTAIRE INTERDITE  
PAR LE POUVOIR  
SOCIALISTE ET COMMUNISTE**  
FEDERATION ANARCHISTE

Radio-Libertaire was left out. In spite of the ruling, Radio-Libertaire is still broadcasting—at the same frequency;

war against wildlife which lays waste to our planet at the same time that it destroys millions of living creatures daily. MFA, POBox 1679, Columbus, OH 43216.

# Detroit: A CITY ALREADY BOMBED

Continued from Page One

to the American Association for the Advancement of Science, whose convention was held here in May, quoted by the *Detroit News*, he outlines the prospective "benefits":

*Not only will university activities move to business sites, but it is my belief that business will involve itself with universities in vastly more elaborate research contracts arrangements. Where companies are located side by side with major business enterprises, as occurs in our urban centers, it will not be surprising for business to become virtually*

*the sponsors of academic departments.*

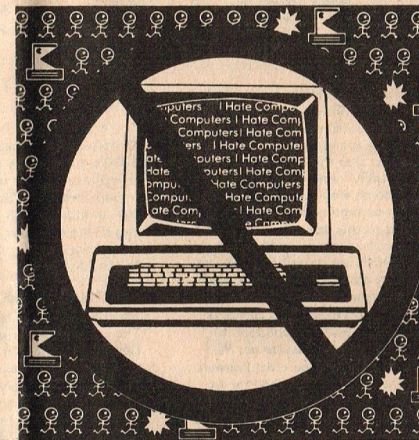
The aim is the production of minds that produce for the sake of production; the consequence is the increased stultification of individual creativity that could be the real means of a city's salvation. We know where such propositions lead us—around and around, circling ever further away from the source of our individual strength and understanding into the absurd and debilitated realms of totalitarian and remote control. But in a frantic search for fast answers to our urban "economic" plight, many will listen and submit to the simplest and most familiar direction from the most dominating and powerful voices. Thereby we commit the same mistake superimposed over and over through history that, as with the eventual effect of a technologically controlled world, Lewis Mumford, in his penetrating study, *The City in History*, says, "will bring with it a progressive loss of feeling, emotion, creative audacity, and finally, consciousness." He describes our urban condition:

*We live in fact in an expanding universe of mechanical and electronic invention, whose parts are moving at a rapid pace ever further, and further away from their human center, and from any rational, autonomous human purposes. This technological explosion has produced a similar explosion of the city itself: the city has burst open and scattered its complex organs over the entire landscape. . . it has also been largely demagnetized, with the result that we are witnessing a sort of devolution of urban power into a state of randomness and unpredictability. In short, our civilization is running out of control. . .*

## Culture of Domination and Violence

High technology (along with its counterpart, nuclear war) is the latest, most extreme expression of the ur-

ban compulsion to dominate that leads to self-destruction. Even those who listen to the wisdom remnant in their bones that says technological development is not unconditionally good are often victim to a more insidious aspect of its propaganda: that it is inevitable and unstoppable, and we are helpless in its advance. It is not and we are not. In this "transitional period" as the rug is pulled from under our feet, we have the chance to see ground. As shaky, confused businesses vie for the coming market, now is the time for the rest of us to re-establish respect for the earth we build on, ourselves and each other, and perhaps to regain personal and shared autonomy in the process. When the cracks belie the illusion and things get this bad for this many people, more are brought to look, think and make an active responsible choice about the future.



There is hope in this because it cannot help but result in increasing the proportion of those who choose to regain a life-valuing culture over one of domination and violence. This is what Mumford means when he says:

*. . . we shall find that urban society has come to a parting of the ways. Here, with a heightened consciousness of our past and a clearer insight into the decisions made long ago, which often still control us, we shall be able to face the immediate decision that now confronts man and will one way or another, ultimately transform him: namely whether he shall devote himself to the development of his own deepest humanity, or whether he shall surrender himself to the now almost automatic forces he has set in motion. . .*

I believe that urban and rural environments, as they remain separate but thriving and interactive, reflect dual complementary aspects of the human personality in balance. The slow mushroom cloud destruction of a city like Detroit mirrors our cultural insanity. And as long as the impelling center is one of accumulating profit and power, no matter how well disguised, the consumptive process will go on and on. After all that voracious urban mentality does not end even with the encroaching limits of the city. It requires individual awareness and conviction translated into a turning away from participation in the subtle and pervasive demands of "progress," complemented by the strengthening of our personal relationships and an exercising of creativity in this "transitional city," and all cities, for the healing, restorative solution to become more than abstract.

—Mary Wildwood

# Beginning of Time, End of Time

Continued from Page 8

Schlegel judged that if events were always novel, not only would order and routine be impossible, but so would notions of time itself.

## "To Know Time Is To Fear It"

In Beckett's play, *Waiting for Godot*, the two main characters receive a visitor, after which one of them sighs, "Well, at least it helped to pass the time." The other replies, "Nonsense, time would have passed anyway." In this prosaic exchange the basic horror of modern life is plumbed. The meta-presence of time is by this time felt as a heavily oppressive force, standing over its subjects autonomously. Very apropos is this summing up by George Morgan: "A fretful busyness to

'kill time' and restless movement from novelty to novelty bury an ever-present sense of futility and vacuousness. In the midst of his endless achievements, modern man is losing the substance of human life."

Loren Eiseley once described "a feeling of inexplicable terror," as if he and his companion, who were examining a skull, were in the path of "a torrent that was sweeping everything to destruction." Understanding Eiseley's sensation completely, his friend paraphrased as saying, "to know time is to fear it, and to know civilized time is to be terror stricken." Given the history of time and our present plight in it, it would be hard to imagine a more prescient bit of communication.

In the 1960s Robert Lowell gave succinct expression to the extremity of the alienation of time:

I am learning to live in history.  
What is history? What you cannot touch.

Fortunately, also in the 60s, many others were beginning the *unlearning* of how to live in history, as evidenced by the shedding of wristwatches, the use of psychedelic drugs, and, paradoxically perhaps, by the popular single-word slogan of the French insurrectionaries of May 1968—"Quick!" The element of time refusal in the revolt of the 60s was strong and there are signs—such as the revolt against work—that it contin-

ues to deepen even as it contends with extreme new spatializations of time.

Since Marcuse wrote of "the alliance between time and the order of repression," and Norman O. Brown on the sense of time or history as a function of repression, the vividness of the connection has powerfully grown.

Christopher Lasch, in the late 70s, noticed that "A profound shift in our sense of time has transformed work habits, values, and the definition of success." And if work is being refused as a key component of time, it is also becoming obvious how consumption gobbles up time alive. Today's perfect spatial symbol of the latter is the Pac-Man video game figure, which literally eats up space to kill time.

As with Aldous Huxley's Mr Propter, millions have come to find time a "thing intrinsically nightmarish." A fixation with age and the pro-longevity movement, as discussed by Lasch and others, are two signs of its torments. Adorno once said, "As the subjects live less, death grows more precipitous, more terrifying." There seems to be a new generation among the young virtually every three or four years, as time, growing more palpable, has accelerated since the 60s. Science has provided a popular reflection of time resistance in at least two phenomena: the widespread appeal of anti-time concepts more or less loosely derived from

physical theory, such as black holes, time warps, space-time singularities and the like, and the comforting appeal of the "deep time" of the so-called geological romances, such as John McPhee's *Basin and Range* (1981).

When Benjamin assayed that "The concept of historical progress of mankind cannot be sundered from the concept of its progression through a homogenous time," he called for a critique of both, little realizing how resonant this call might someday become. Still less, of course, could Goethe's dictum that "No man can judge history but one who has himself experienced history" could have been foreseen to apply in such a wholesale way as it does now, with time the most real and onerous dimension. The project of annulling time and history will have to be developed as the only hope of human liberation.

Of course, there is no dearth of the wise who continue to assert that consciousness itself is impossible without time and its spatialization, overlooking somehow an overwhelmingly massive period of humanity's existence. Some concluding words from William Morris's *News From Nowhere* are a fitting hope in reply to such sages of domination: "In spite of all the infallible maxims of your day there is yet a time of rest in store for the world, when mastery has changed into fellowship."





## News & Reviews

The always provocative and irreverent **The Match!** (P.O. Box 3488, Tucson AZ 85722) is currently involved in a raging debate on pornography in which it enveighs against any censorship even by women who maintain they are victimized by it. "No one," states **The Match!** "is fit to be a censor!"

Also, Kent Winslow's serialized novel-ette, "Dream World," is worth the price of admission alone.

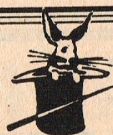
**The Match!** has returned to publication after a hiatus of several years and now publishes quarterly. Fred Woodworth, the paper's indefatigable editor, recently sent us a bundle of 30 issues from the days when it was a monthly. These are available to FE readers upon request with book orders or for postage if ordered alone. The new editions are available from the above box.

### "Support Southern Fried Anarchy!"

The staff of the **Orlando Indicator**, Workers' Autonomy and others are trying to rent an office to serve as an anarchist reading room, think-tank and hideout, and they write "since we are a small collective in a reactionary town, we need to be remembered in our comrades' thoughts, hopes and fund-raising events." They are asking for anarchist literature, leaflets, etc., to be sent to: Rick Harrison, The Orlando Conspiracy, PO Box 541, Orlando FL 32802.

**Resistance**, a newspaper from the Dublin Anarchist Collective (issue no. 3 April/May 1983) just received carrying articles on abortion, Gays under attack, Unemployed March, and more. Write to them at: Dublin Anarchist Collective, PO Box 1305, Dublin 1, Ireland.

Another new publication is **Workers Playtime** which is produced by some members of the London Workers Group which describes itself as: "an open discussion group involving anarchists, councilists, autonomists and anyone else interested in workplace class struggle from a revolutionary perspective." Write to them



# FE BOOKSTORE

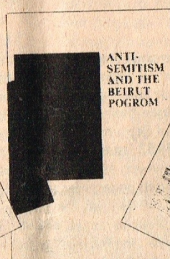
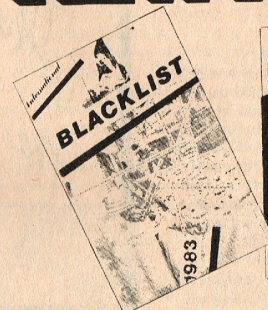
The **FE BOOKSERVICE** is located in the same place as the Fifth Estate Newspaper, both of which are at 5928 Second, Detroit MI 48202—telephone (313) 831-6800. The hours we are open vary considerably, so it's always best to give us a call before coming down.

### HOW TO ORDER BY MAIL:

1) List the title of the book, quantity wanted, and the price of each; 2) add 10% for mailing—not less than \$.63 U.S. or \$.83 foreign (which is the minimum charge for 4th Class book rate postage); 3) total; 4) write all checks or money orders to: The Fifth Estate. Mail to Fifth Estate Books, 5928 Second Ave., Detroit MI 48202



## NEW ARRIVALS



### INTERNATIONAL BLACKLIST by the Blacklist Group

An amazingly extensive listing of anarchist and libertarian publications, bookstores, organizations (ugh!), and contacts throughout the world. It's incredible that so many addresses could be assembled in one volume, but it's been done & attractively so. Self-published 140pp \$3.50

### TELOS: A Quarterly Journal of Radical Thought Spring 1983

A special issue on French "socialism." Articles on Mitterrand, the French CP and SP, the "Agony of Marxism" and more. Interviews with Michel Foucault and Andre Gorz. Telos Press 239pp \$5.50

### TELOS: A Quarterly Journal of Radical Thought Fall 1982 and Winter 1983

Fall 1982 No. 53 contains articles by Castoriadis, "The Crisis of Western Society," Casanova, "The Modernization of Spain," Rittersporn, "The 1930's in Soviet History" and a special section on "Poland and the Continuing Eastern European Crisis." Also Notes and Commentaries and book reviews. Winter 1983 No. 54 is a Special Issue on Terrorism and State Terrorism and contains essays by Corradi, "Terror in Argentina," Reiman "Political Trials of the Stalin Era," Bobbio "Italy's Permanent Crisis" and others. 240pp \$5.50

### ANTI-SEMITISM & THE BEIRUT POGROM by Fredy Perlman

A Fifth Estate reprint. "The long exile is over; the persecuted refugee at long last returns to Zion, but so badly scarred he's unrecognizable, he has completely lost his self; he returns as anti-Semite, as Pogromist, as mass murderer; the ages of exile and suffering are still included in his makeup, but only as self-justifications, and as a repository of horrors to impose on Primitives and even on Earth herself."—from the text. Left Bank Books 16pp \$5.00

### AGAINST HIS-STORY, AGAINST LEVIATHAN by Fredy Perlman

In a poetic style which leaves the terrain of history as it excoriates it, **AGAINST LEVIATHAN** traces the origins of the state, the destruction of myth-centered, communitarian, free societies by authoritarian machines and economic social relations, the varied forms of resistance to and flight from the state. Black & Red 302pp \$3.00

### BEYOND GEOGRAPHY: THE WESTERN SPIRIT AGAINST THE WILDERNESS by Frederick Turner

Traces the "spiritual history" that led up to the European domination and decimation of aboriginal cultures as rich in mythic life as the West was barren. Beginning with the first separation from the wilderness in the days of the tentacles

### NO MIDDLE GROUND: Anti-authoritarian Perspectives on Latin America and the Caribbean Issue No. 1 Spring 1983

An excellent publication which examines a region often ignored by libertarians. It takes its name from the situation developing in Latin America and the Caribbean: that the models of social change subsidized by the Western and Eastern powers have failed, and that no viable alternative exists other than that of a self-managed revolution. Articles on Jamaica, Chile, Cuba and a major piece on Nicaragua exposing the Sandanistas for creating a bureaucratic state apparatus. Also contains a directory of latin libertarian groups. No Middle Ground 62pp \$1.50

### ON HOMOSEXUALITY: A Stalino-Leninist Guide to Love & Sex

Based around the now defunct Revolutionary Union's statement on gays, this pamphlet shows the rampant homophobia present on the Left and right from the horse's mouth. Also, prominent leftists like Lenin and Castro, as well as their epigones, march forward to warn you to beware of homosexuals. Did you know that a good revolutionary does not masturbate? A real classic! Self-published unpaginated \$7.50

### PEOPLE WITHOUT GOVERNMENT: An

## BACK IN STOCK

### Lessons of the Spanish Revolution by Vernon Richards

Just reprinted by Freedom Press, this edition contains new footnotes by the author and a review of Hugh Thomas' **THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR**. Richards' critical views of the revolution, the role of the CNT and FAI, and libertarian tactics, makes it as controversial and valuable as it was when the first edition was published 30 years ago. Highly recommended. Freedom Press 256pp \$5.75



### AGAINST DOMESTICATION by Jacques Camatte

Camatte has emerged from the "Hegelian thickets" many have accused him of dwelling in and written a fairly intelligible essay containing many of his basic themes: the domestication of humans by capital, repressive consciousness, the superfluousness of the proletariat, establishment of a human community and others. Several of us who have read it recommend it to those interested in what constitutes at least a portion of the theoretical underpinnings of the Fifth Estate. Black Thumb 24pp \$1.50

### Ideas for Setting Your Mind in a Condition of: DIS\*EASE

Articles on "The Perception of Militancy," "Transition" by Gianni Collu, Camatte's collaborator, "Against the Language of Self-defeat" and more. Graphically attractive, detourments. Black Thumb Press 34pp \$1.00

### INDUSTRIALISM & DOMESTICATION by John & Paula Zerzan

A Fifth Estate reprint; it traces developments in the late 18th and early 19th centuries where the rise of capitalism was met by bitter and intense resistance. Its establishment was only effected by the imposition of the factory system as a method of social control. The result was a tamed working class and a degradation of labor which lives today at the core of the Marxist conception of socialism. Black Eye Press 18pp \$8.50

### ANARCHISM & MARXISM by Daniel Guerin

"... Anarchism and marxism, at the start, drank at the same proletarian spring. . . ." As the libertarian historian A.E. Kaminski wrote in his excellent book on Bakunin, a synthesis of anarchism and marxism is not only necessary but inevitable. "Marxism," he adds, "makes his common-



revolutionary perspective. Write to them at: Box LWG, c/o Little A, C1 Metropolitan Wharf, Wapping Wall, London E1.

The **Wooden Shoe Spring Catalog**, besides containing a lengthy listing of their anarchist literature, and an assortment of leftist publications not generally available, also offers an interesting history of the 6-year-old bookstore. Describing itself as "an anarchist/feminist/socialist bookstore collectively owned and operated," they were at one time part of a group calling itself Philadelphia Solidarity. You can write for a copy of their catalog at: Wooden Shoe Books & Records, 112 S. 20th Street, Philadelphia, PA 19103.

The good news: **Bound Together Bookshop & Meeting Place Collective** (whew!) have found new quarters at 1369 Haight St., San Francisco CA 94117; the bad news: the move will increase their rent from \$200 a month to \$700! They have also started publishing a newsletter which will appear monthly and contain reviews, graphics, photos, poetry, short stories, articles on news events, announcements, etc. In order to meet their extremely high rent, Bound Together is asking for donations sent to the above address.

**Suburban Relapse** is a new punk fanzine out of N. Miami which recently listed the FE in its Zine Roundup. Issue No. 9 includes a Special Report on Necrophilia, Morbid Opera ("bend over and squeal"), and a New Homemakers Section with the Angry Samoans among other things. Reach them at P.O. Box 610906, N. Miami FL 33261.

The **Lysander Spooner Society** is a loosely knit group of anarchists centered in Eastern Connecticut. The primary arm of the Spooner Group is the periodical **Instead of a Magazine**. The highly eclectic editorial policy of IOAM reflects the interests and philosophy of the group just about as well as anything else does. Most importantly it probably reflects the fact that they "support anti-statist causes of all stripes and do not cotton to the notion of badmouthing other radicals. That we save for statists and authoritarians." Some topics covered in recent issues center around racism, sexism, fascism and prisons. Sample copy from P.O. Box 433, Willimantic CT 06226.

The **Spark** (no relation to the miserable trotskyoid rag which emanates from Detroit, written in fourth grade reading comprehension level English by socialist grad students posing as "workers"), is an anarchist newsletter of contemporary thought. It says, "Neither left nor right, The Spark erases the borders between marxism and libertarianism, between communism and ego." It features articles on politics, culture, economics, feminism, anarchist history, and more. Sample copies are \$1 from P.O. Box 528, Port Townsend WA 98368.

The **Alternative Press Index**, is a quarterly subject index to over 175 different al-

ternative magazines, newspapers and journals (mostly leftist but including some libertarian publications, such as the FE). They also publish a free list of alternative periodicals yearly which contains current address and subscription information and categorizes each periodical by subject. Subscriptions available at \$90 per year for institutions and \$25 for individual and movement group subs. Write to them at: Alternative Press Center, POBox 7229, Baltimore MD 21218.

Though punks and anarchists are still on the airwaves in Columbia, Missouri (KOPN), recent communication from our friends there indicates they expect further repression by "people who are afraid that Moral Majority types will cause the station to lose financial backing."

**Sleepless Frenzy**, an anarchist noise show is going to switch from punk to an "avant-garde" music show in June because after two years, the show's originators are tired of playing punk. The anti-punk hysteria at the station has apparently been quite a hassle, but now the station has 3

#### TO THE HONORABLE MISS S.

By B. Traven

Written under the name Ret Marut during the World War I years in Germany when Traven was editor of the anti-war paper *Der Ziegelbrenner* (The Brickburner). The fifteen stories foreshadow many of the libertarian and moral themes which would appear later in *THE TREASURE OF SIERRA MADRE*, *THE DEATH SHIP* and *THE WHITE ROSE*.  
Lawrence Hill & Co. 149pp \$5.95

#### THE WHITE ROSE

by B. Traven

In the clash between Mexican rural life and the power of American industrialism, Traven aptly illustrates what we have traded for the modern world. The book describes the discovery and exploitation of Mexico's oil resources by the rapacious giants of the U.S. oil industry and the destruction of a Mexican Indian hacienda, *La Rosa Blanca*, which stood in their way.  
Lawrence Hill & Co. 209pp Hardcover  
Published at \$8.95; now \$5.95

#### THE END OF ANARCHISM?

by Luigi Galleani

This volume was first published as a pamphlet in 1925 as an expanded version of a series of articles which had appeared twenty years earlier in *Cronaca Sovversiva* as a reply to an assertion by a former anarchist that the movement was no longer vital. Initially conceived of as a rebuttal, it developed into an eloquent expression of Galleani's anarchist-communism, which remains radical and relevant to this day. The union and organization compromises embraced by so many contemporary anarchists are roundly denounced while support for the concept of armed insurrection and the propaganda of the deed receive sympathetic treatment. This edition contains an introduction by Max Sartin, a collaborator of Galleani's and editor of *L'Adunata dei Re-frattari*, the last major Italian anarchist journal of North America which was published for fifty years, 1922-1971.  
Cienfuegos \$4.00

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other punk shows (Total Khaos, being one), and **Sleepless Frenzy** now feels too straight for the current punk scene. The **Columbia Anarchist League** recently sponsored the appearance of the Rock Against Regan tour which included the Michigan band Crucifixes. The show included speeches on sexual and reproductive freedom, draft resistance, and anarchy as a practical alternative to government terror, and the show's proceeds went to **Misery Magazine and Anarchy: A Journal of Desire Armed**. Although each of the above projects has separate addresses, they may all be reached through the Columbia Anarchist League, P.O. 380, Columbia MO 65205.

#### LIKE A SUMMER WITH A THOUSAND JULYS

An in-depth analysis of the riots which swept England last year and the potential they contain for a generalized revolt. Considerable detail is given to the different social forces at work to either expand or contract the upsurge—the rastas and skinheads, unions and punks, cops and corporations are all covered.  
BM Blob 8 1/2 X 11 55pp \$2.00

#### A NEW WORLD IN OUR HEARTS: The Face of Spanish Anarchism

edited by Albert Meltzer

The collected essays offer a brief history of Spanish anarchism during the Civil War years and through to the present.  
Cienfuegos Press 100pp Hardcover \$5.00

#### ANARCHISTS IN THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

by Jose Peirats

Written by a participant in the events of the 1930's, this volume traces the history of the anarcho-syndicalist union, the CNT, from its origins through to the Revolution. Not an apology or glorification, but a thoroughgoing analysis of the successes and failures of the anarchist movement.  
Self-Published 400pp \$3.50

#### THE ANARCHISTS IN THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

edited by Paul Avrich  
The story of the Russian anarchists during the Revolution and Civil War (1917-21) told by the participants themselves. Included are articles and manifestos, speeches and resolutions, letters and diaries, poems and songs. Includes an introduction and commentary by Avrich.  
Cornell U. Press 179 pps. \$4.00

other punk shows (Total Khaos, being one), and **Sleepless Frenzy** now feels too straight for the current punk scene.

The **Columbia Anarchist League** recently sponsored the appearance of the Rock Against Regan tour which included the Michigan band Crucifixes. The show included speeches on sexual and reproductive freedom, draft resistance, and anarchy as a practical alternative to government terror, and the show's proceeds went to **Misery Magazine and Anarchy: A Journal of Desire Armed**. Although each of the above projects has separate addresses, they may all be reached through the Columbia Anarchist League, P.O. 380, Columbia MO 65205.

**Commonweal** (Box Terrier, 84b White Chapel High St., London E.1, England) is the first issue of a new review which takes its name from 1885 publication of the Socialist League. Its many articles deal with the state of the state, its repressive arm, and the prospects for the libertarian movement.

#### Anthropology of Anarchism

by Harold Barclay; preface by Alex Comfort  
Anarchy, in fact, has characterized much of the human past. This book describes the anarchic political structures of a number of these societies. Special attention is given to the techniques of leadership, maintaining order and decision making. The dynamic between freedom and authority is considered, particularly the apparent tendency of anarchic polities to degenerate into states with government and for organizations to become oligarchies.  
Cienfuegos Press 150pps. \$8.00

#### FRENCH MARXISTS AND THEIR ANTHROPOLOGY

by Pierre Clastres

This essay was penned by Clastres a few days before his death, and was never revised or finished by him. It has appeared in various libertarian publications in Europe. Clastres declares, "In spite of the fact that ethnomarxism is still a powerful current in the human sciences, marxist ethnology is of an absolute, or rather, radical nullity—null at the root." Includes Godelier and Claude Meillassoux.  
28pps. 25 cents

#### FOUR ARGUMENTS FOR THE ELIMINATION OF TELEVISION

by Jerry Mander

One of our favorite books which goes beyond its title and examines the entire spectacular nature of modern society. It argues that television is unreformable and that its problems are inherent in its technology—dangerous to health and sanity, to autonomous and democratic forms of life—that it must be eliminated entirely.  
Morrow 371pp \$5.95

#### CIENTFUEGOS PRESS ANARCHIST REVIEW NUMBER 6/SUMMER 1982

Although just made available to us as of this issue, the CPAR remains topical, lively and provocative. Features a major article on the British Special Air Service Regiment as a model for an English police state; also "The Anarchist Movement in Mexico," "Libertarian Communism," cartoons, parody ads, and many book reviews.  
Cienfuegos Press 50pp \$2.00

#### THE MIRROR OF PRODUCTION

by Jean Baudrillard

Examines the lessons of Marxism which has created a productivist model and a fetishism of labor. Asserts that Marxism reflects "all of Western metaphysics" and that it remains within the restrictive context of political economy whence it was born.  
Telos Press 167 pp \$4.50

#### The FE Newsletter & Foreign Papers

Each bookorder we receive is sent out accompanied with a copy of the **Fifth Estate Newsletter**, a xeroxed inter-issue publication, containing updates, just received information and recently received books. It also has reprints from other publications and leaflets which we have been sent.

We also try to include as much free material as we have on hand up to the postal weight division. If you would like any foreign language publication, please indicate the country of interest and if available, it will be sent with your order.

light and marxism is not only necessary but inevitable. "History," he adds, "makes her compromises herself."  
Cienfuegos Press 17pp \$1.25

#### FASCISM/ANTI-FASCISM

by Jani Barrot

"There is no revolution without the destruction of the state." Using this as a guide, Barrot constructs a devastating critique of revolutionary movements which defend "democratic" forms of the State against right-wing variants.  
Black Cat Press 37pp 75 cents

## ALSO NEW

#### THE WORKING CLASS UPRISING IN EAST GERMANY, JUNE 1953: Class Struggle Against Bolshevism

by Cajo Brendel

An exciting account written weeks after the massive workers' assault on the E. German Stalinist state. Rather than just a few heroic workers throwing rocks at tanks, it was an uprising which shook the state to its core and involved 100's of thousands who wanted neither Ulbrecht nor Adenauer.  
Echanges et Mouvement/London 26pp \$1

#### THE MURDER OF CHRIST

by Wilhelm Reich

After years of authoring books such as *THE MASS PSYCHOLOGY OF FASCISM* and many others written in a scholarly and scientific style, Reich turns to allegory and a poetic-like presentation to condemn the "emotional plague of mankind"—which eventually took his life. Perhaps his most powerful work.  
Touchstone 228pp \$5.95

#### OUR ROOTS ARE STILL ALIVE: THE STORY OF THE PALESTINE PEOPLE

People's Press Palestine Book Project

Solid data regarding the sordid history of Zionism and its effects on the Palestinians. Even left and labor Zionism are shown to be reactionary. A review appears in this issue.  
The Guardian 180pp \$5.95

#### NASKAPI INDEPENDENCE & THE CARIBOU

by Alan Cooke

A look at how a technological invasion which took place a century ago decimated a Native American culture in northern Canada.  
Centre for Northern Studies & Research 12pp 25 cents

#### THE ATOMIC STATE AND THE PEOPLE WHO HAVE TO LIVE IN IT: Campaign

Against the Model West-Germany, Number 7  
Discusses the qualitatively new form of totalitarian technological state power which is emerging as modern police techniques and nuclearism converge.  
44pp. 50 cents

#### UNDER POLICE ATTACK! SUPPORT!

#### BULLDOZER NUMBER 5/WINTER '83

The best looking edition yet of this publication, "the only vehicle for prison reform." Contains articles and discussions from prisoners and prisoner support groups: "Bruising the Cruise," "April is the Cruellest Time," "Is There Life After Prison?" and more.  
P.S.C. Publishers 48pps. \$1.00  
(Free to prisoners from the FE or direct from P.S.C. Publishers, P.O. Box 5052, Station "A" Toronto, Ontario M5W 1W4 Canada.)



# 3 Books on Israel

*Israel's Global Role: Weapons for Repression*, Israel Shakak, Association of Arab-American University Graduates, Inc., Belmont MA, 61pp, 1982, \$2.95.

*Our Roots Are Still Alive: The Story of the Palestinian People*, Peoples Press Palestine Book Project, Institute for Independent Social Journalism, New York, 1981, 190pp, \$5.45.

*Zionism in the Age of the Dictators*, Lenni Brenner, Lawrence Hill & Co., Westport, Conn., 1983, 277pp., (price not marked; probably in the \$5.95-7.95 range).

If one still held out the hope that somewhere in either its history or in the contemporary Israeli political scene there existed some shred of redemption for the Zionist occupation of Palestine, these volumes should set that to rest.

This should not be taken to mean that there are not people and organizations in Israel which oppose the worst abuses of the state (witness the Peace Now movement), but precious few are willing to take as a starting point the recognition that as a white settler colonial movement, Zionism caused an indigenous people to be thrown from their historic homeland and supplanted them with a European culture and government tied solidly to Western imperial interests.

dislodge the Arabic inhabitants. And, since their Diaspora, the Palestinians have maintained their strong resistance to Zionism and a cultural integrity which shows no sign of going away.

The book shows Zionism as a thoroughly racist doctrine whose adherents were never satisfied to live in peace with their neighbors who originally tolerated them. However, they then became suspicious of these Europeans who arrived with an ideology which declared the land to be an exclusive homeland for the Jews. The colonialists utilizing racial covenants on land, terror against Arab workers and products (or against Jewish owners who used either; most of which was mobilized by the "left-

ism. And, as a show of good faith, the Jewish Hagannah offered to spy for the Gestapo.

This seemingly peculiar relationship was born not only out of circumstance, but also by the marked similarities of the two nationalist ideologies. Zionist propaganda often differed little from that of their tormentors and repeated the anti-Semitic themes that Jews were different, that too many in a nation caused problems, that they had no real homeland and hence, were guilty of many of the problems ascribed to them by their accusers.

The small German Zionist movement, for instance, (the majority of Jews belonged to left-wing parties) paralleled the Nazi's anti-communism and echoed the rightist conception of pure race and nation. So favorably did the Nazis view Zionism during the 1930's that only the blue and white Zionist flag was permitted to be flown in Germany other than the swastika. Zionist organizations and their press continued to function and the Nazis even permitted the Zionist youth to wear their own uniforms. This was at a point when every union and opposition group in Germany had been crushed and their leadership sent to concentration camps or executed.

This venal collaboration was based on the Zionist concept that anti-semitism was inevitable and to struggle against it was futile, and saw only escape to Palestine for a select few as offering any hope for the Jews. Hence, their policy was that boycotts, sabotage or resistance of any sort would only further worsen their already precarious position.

Many Jews argue that in retrospect their arguments stand correct given the results of the Holocaust, but Zionist efforts to save European Jewry by negotiating with the Nazis, refusing all opposition to them, and stifling protest against their anti-Semitic policies was equally futile and certainly was self-fulfilling prophecy. Of course, no one could have foreseen to what lengths the Nazis were willing to go to settle the "Jewish Question," but collaboration with one's adversaries from a position of weakness, agreeing with his criticisms in advance, is at best naive. In the long run, Zionism can only be seen to have unwittingly aided a process already in the works.

But as mentioned above, Zionism's affinity to right-wing dictatorships should not be seen as just one of opportunism, for its political concepts were

akin to the Zionist view.

A distinct pattern begins to emerge from these three books: When Jews are the "rootless cosmopolitans" and "internationalists" that both anti-Semites and Zionists describe them as, they tend to display a hostility toward their "host" nation state. Hence, the presence of so many Jews in leftist and anarchist movements. They are often immune from the fervid nationalism that rulers use to chain people to the needs of "their" nation state if they are, from the outset, told they are not a part of it. Set in the era of intense resistance to capital and the state, Zionism, conceptually and often politically, instead lined up with reactionary nationalism of the epoch.

Israel today is quickly losing its image as a beleaguered "little" nation as it commits a genocidal war against Lebanon, lines up with the fascist forces of that country, and conspires to rob even more land from the remaining Palestinians on the Left Bank and in Gaza. And, as the country catapults to the right, so its domestic and foreign apologists match the trajectory.

When Begin, a man with his origins in the overtly fascist wing of Zionism, with a personal history of terrorism against both Arabs and his Zionist opponents, is elected Prime Minister (an event which would be comparable to some one from the Minute-men gaining the U.S. presidency), he is hailed by the majority of American Jews. When massacres are carried out by right-wing militias, allied to and armed by Israel and permitted to carry out atrocious murders of defenseless refugees, Israel's supporters deny all blame, and when the stench gets so bad that a commission of inquiry says, yes, there was "indirect" blame, the head of Boston's B'nai Brith Anti-Defamation League says, see, this proves how democratic Israel is, even though not an official is given a punishment worth a mention.

In fact, so shameless are these defenders of Zion that when Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon, architect of the massacres, recently came to the U.S. on a fund-raising drive, rather than being shunned as a monster, he was received with such overwhelming enthusiasm in the Jewish community that he was able to raise a record amount of money for Israel.

Within the U.S., Jews who were once part of the liberal and leftist trends in this country suddenly have become captive by Israel's rightist regime, echoing its lies uncritically and smiling at Reagan, who they see as Tel Aviv's ultimate protector. And,

charged and living in horrid conditions) one winces at the upper-middle class and wealthy suburban addresses these Zionist apologists sign. Begin and Sharon have allowed them to shed the uncomfortable liberalism Jews have worn for so long and to take on a more suitable rightist stance that joins them with their wealthy and reactionary gentile neighbors. They support the right abroad and abandon liberalism at home.

Actually, in Israel the Zionist consensus is more fragile and has split along ethnic lines over the murderous war against Lebanon. On the eve of the mild reprimand to Sharon, for his role in "permitting" the Sabra and Shatilla massacres by the Israeli army's Phalangist stooges, Peace Now protesters took to the streets to demand that Sharon be dropped from the government.

When their demonstration reached Begin's office, mobs of government supporters, almost exclusively Sephardim, Jews from North Africa and Middle East countries, attacked, first with epithets, then with fists and finally a grenade killing one demonstrator and wounding several others.

Almost more telling of the division-wracked society were the insults hurled by the Begin supporters: "They shouldn't have rescued you from Hitler in 1945!" yelled one pro-government man.

"They're all Ashkenazim," (Jews of European extraction) shouted another, "That's why they're out there."

"Go back to your kibbutz; these do-gooders; they're educated," yelled one in contempt.

The Peace Now demonstrators were continually called "Arabs," apparently the vilest insult of all. An elderly man in a yarmulke shouted at a group of women demonstrators, "You are Arab women! You should have been at Sabra and Shatilla!"

So, this is what Israel has become—mobs chanting, "Begin is King!," a contempt for even the socialist trappings of the kibbutzim, and a racism consistent with that of other settler regimes such as South Africa, Israel's staunchest ally.

The final argument that Zionists will use is that Jews are safe nowhere in the world except in Israel. Quite the contrary is true, however. The Jews of Israel are in as precarious position as they were prior to the Holocaust, dependent upon the political winds of imperialism to keep the U.S. as its mentor and protector. A change in policy and Israel could be wiped away.

It's almost as if the rabbinical opposition to Zionism is becoming manifest—Israel as the false messiah to doom the Jews. A permanent garrison state, guard dog for a larger imperial power, mobs howling in

## BOOK REVIEWS

Israel Shakak, the author of *Israel's Global Role*, starts from such a premise and has had his attempts to inform the Israeli public met with the heavy hand of military censorship. Even though his work delineating Israel's role in supplying arms to repressive U.S. client regimes is taken primarily from the Hebrew press, the text of his book indicates the many deletions forced upon him.

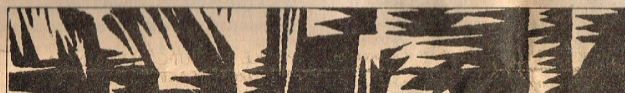
Shakak describes Israel as a garrison state, a militarized society devoting its resources to arms production while surviving on the American dole with "a corresponding and quite predictable deterioration in its moral integrity," to quote Noam Chomsky's excellent introduction. This loss of integrity originates from the nature of the Zionist project itself—the need to lie continually about Palestine and its people who were forcefully displaced to make room for the refugees from anti-Semitism.

Golda Meier claimed the Palestinians did not exist; Begin, the ex-terrorist, stands reality on its head and claims his victims are all terrorists—an immense edifice of lies necessary to justify this theft of land just as in the Americas extermina-

tioning labor movement), and cooperation with the British colonial forces, still only managed to bring a small portion of Palestine under Jewish control prior to World War II.

The desperation created by the Holocaust and the resultant swell of European Jewish refugees into Palestine set the final stage for the 1948 war—another myth where the supposedly beleaguered Zionists, galled by the British and out-gunned by five Arab nations fought heroically to establish the Jewish state. *Our Roots*... makes clear that the war was planned by the Zionist leadership, was done purposely to circumvent the United Nations partition plan which would have left half the area in Arab hands, that the victory was a relatively easy one and was used primarily to chase out the remaining Palestinian residents.

The final myth is that of the Israeli ec-





rice of lies necessary to justify this theft of land just as in the Americas extermination and occupation is rationalized by describing the original inhabitants as savages.

As the lies become institutionalized almost anything becomes permissible. The Jews, once a peaceful and victimized people throughout their Diaspora, now return as weapon suppliers for the world's pariah nations—grotesque dictatorships which only the U.S. and Israel want to maintain. Israeli small arms, planes and armor have shown up in the arsenals of Mobutu in Zaïre, Bokassa in the Central African Republic and even in Idi Amin's Uganda. None but a small minority in Israel protested that arms went to the tyrant Somoza in Nicaragua or the bloody Shah of Iran. Uzi machine guns go to Pinochet in Chile (maybe used to mow down Allende) and to the Argentine generals. The South African Prime Minister is welcomed in Tel Aviv for a Holocaust memorial even though he was jailed as a Nazi sympathizer during the war (this should perhaps come as no surprise since Begin was chairman of the Israel-South Africa Friendship Association prior to his election).

The death squad regimes of El Salvador and Guatemala are that much more secure due to their Israeli weaponry, and as Labor Party representatives of the Tel Aviv government clinked glasses with generals from Argentina's anti-Semitic junta, Jacobo Timmerman, a jailed writer, was at that moment being tortured in a Buenos Aires jail and forced to kneel in front of a portrait of Adolf Hitler. And, it should be remembered, that from 1948 until 1977, it was the ostensibly socialist Israeli Labor Party which was in power (member in good standing of the Socialist International) and brokering arms to the world's most repressive right-wing regimes.

This is Israel as whore—doing the bidding of rich white men for pay; pay without which it could not exist. It is safe to say that without direct U.S. subsidy Israel would have collapsed financially at the outset. Capital transfers to Israel in the form of U.S. government loans, direct grants and private donations constitute virtually the whole of Israeli investment since the founding of the state. In return Israel functions as Washington's guard dog against Arab radicalism in the Middle East and arms dealer to unsavory regimes supported by the U.S. The latter role also is a major prop of the Israeli economy and constitutes 40% of Israel's export revenue.

*Our Roots Are Still Alive* chronicles the establishment of the Zionist state in Palestine and effectively attacks many of the central myths erected in defense of the occupation. The Palestinians are shown to have had, contrary to Meier, a flourishing culture, and, in fact, one so solid that it took intense assault over several generations to finally and permanently



onomic miracle—"They made the desert bloom." Again, if anything made Israel bloom it was U.S. dollars, but even more importantly, the book demonstrates that the victorious settlers took over the pre-existing Palestinian economy and began to operate it as their own. Palestine was not a desert; the Zionists took thousands of homes, factories and citrus groves and in the process eliminated almost 400 Palestinian cities and villages. The parallels to Nazi activity is too obvious to need exposition. It was that which created today's Israel.

The book's only flaw is its fawning before reactionary Arab nationalism and the PLO's statist intentions, but this is easily ignored in favor of its excellent history.

Lenni Brenner's book *Zionism in the Age of the Dictators* exposes the shameful record historic Zionism had in its relationship with the totalitarian regimes which ruled Europe between the World Wars. Zionist leaders constantly sought the patronage and benevolence of avowed anti-Semitic governments even to the extent of making grand overtures to the Nazis.

Immediately following the Nazi assumption of power and the exclusion of Jews from Germany's economic life, the Zionists initiated a large "transfer" scheme for allowing German Jewish capital to be sent to Palestine for Nazi products in a period when "assimilationist" Jews had called for a world-wide boycott of Germany over its racist policies. The Zionist response to the latter was to do all in its power to stop the boycotts and protests against Jewish persecution holding out the hope that the Nazis would sponsor massive Jewish emigration. So intense was the collaboration that the ultimate persecutor of the Jews, Adolf Eichmann, was welcomed to Palestine in the late 1930's with the intent of winning favor among Nazis for Zion-

critically and smiling at Reagan, who they see as Tel Aviv's ultimate protector. And, as letters of support appear in the daily papers rationalizing each new Israeli atrocity (thousands of Lebanese and Palestinians remain in Israeli concentration camps un-

A permanent garrison state, guard dog for a larger imperial power, mobs howling in the street; no thinking Jew or gentile can imagine this will last long.

—E.B. Maple

## MORE LETTERS...

Continued from Page Four

was astounding. We received more money and letters of response than in two or three years combined after the first magazine issue went out. People responded that they kept it around longer; left it on the coffee table with the magazines rather than threw it away with the newspapers; read it rather than leafed through it; passed it on to friends; xeroxed it; and liked the way it looked.

Additionally, street circulation increased greatly in spite of the fact that the publication still had no real title. So we got more money, readers, encouragement and supporters. The ultimate triumph of form over content. Right? Well not completely. We print pretty much the same stuff, but now more people read it. You'd be surprised, I still am, at how much difference an attractive cover and short pages make.

The cost difference is \$100 dollars per issue. We more than make that up in increased contributions, though we still lose money.

We print from 5000 to 7000 copies an issue and we've cut back to only 16 mag-

azine pages an issue (though we'll probably expand next year to 24 pages), so our experience isn't exactly applicable to the FE but it's damn close.

One other thing. Some of your articles are just too long. It is my own feeling that if a social change publication can't make its point convincingly in 2500 words or less people will remain unconvinced. There are exceptions but not many. This is a whole other subject which I can't deal with in [a few words], but this has been my feeling about many FE articles. The "Revolt against Work" stuff for example would have been more compelling at 2000 words. Of course this is the editor and publisher in me speaking now; as a writer there have been times when I couldn't find that last 600 words to cut, but I wish I could have.

In newsprint,  
Steve Belling  
Santa Cruz, CA

*FE Reply: Resource Center of Non-violence magazine is available from P.O. Box 2324, Santa Cruz CA 95063. Sure, Steve, your mag and WIN look good, so do a lot of tabloids, but most of us like our format both visually and because of the work it saves. Our twelve-page newspaper would translate into a 48-page magazine and an accompanying four-fold preparation for each issue. No thanks.*

## Second Try

Dear Fifth Estate:

This is my second attempt at writing you after the Winter '82-'83 issue. The first was more generally laudatory. I just realized I've quit reading the long theoretical articles you publish (my only comment on their quality). The shorter stuff though ("A Day in the Life," "Robbers was Here," "Notes from the Cesspool," and especially: "Direct Action") is superb and an essential element in the growth of my own consciousness. Here in rural N. Calif., the height of progressive politics is the Freeze movement and I often find my thoughts stagnating in old conclusions from years past. The quarterly issues of FE keep my thinking alive and are sincerely appreciated. They are sparking interest among my friends here too. Just wanted to say thanks for your participation in the struggle.

Much love,  
Peter L.W.  
Santa Rosa, CA

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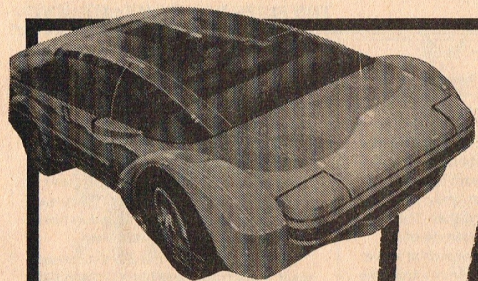
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# HATE CARS!

Today there is no city that the automobile has not turned into a vast parking lot, no avenue that is not a rectilinear traffic artery bordered by concrete sidewalks and strips of sickly, dying dusty, greyish grass. It will soon be impossible for people to talk to each other in the street except by walkie-talkie, impossible to breathe except high up in the mountains (where the air is only a little less toxic than elsewhere, and cars will soon be as numerous as tourists, anyway), impossible to cross a lane without thinking of the danger of being run down and killed, impossible to regard other human beings as other than so many Sunday mechanics mucking about underneath the artificial armor of their coachwork....

Hands gripping the steering wheel, eyes glued to the speedometer as the radio blares, the driver can no longer use speech. The semantics of the automobile is skimpier than the language of prepaletolithic society. Of its dozen or so elementary signals, some nine of them are nothing but surrogate blows that signify intimidation, anger, and fright (for example, the index finger circling at the temple as the driver passes another car with a blast of the horn or a flash of the headlights). There is only one—a sort of Boy Scout salute—that more or less expresses thanks.

Medically speaking, a driver has no single organ operating in its natural state. At a hundred kilometers per hour, tension becomes almost tetanic. The adrenaline content of the blood rises, the digestive system ceases to function, the coronary arteries constrict (this is a prelude to a heart attack). The nervous system goes on a state of alert, and awareness is fully mobilized, for the rules of the asphalt chessboard are grim. Each error must be paid for; the lightest penalty means one's purse, the heaviest one's life.

Space is eaten up, counted carefully, weighed in the scales: so many liters per hundred kilometers. Timetables grip the traveller like the jaws of a vise; the automobile made them possible, now they make the automobile indispensable. Time is measured in cans of oil, slopes in degrees of inclination from the horizontal, hairpin curves in the number of gear shifts—and everything is measured in money. A highway has plenty of reading material: lies on the billboards, figures denoting kilometers, police orders, military instructions. One is held to ransom all the way from the toll bridge to the service station, and what with motorized *brigades* and police *patrols* and electronic *controls*, one might as well be in a barracks. "Caution," "dangerous curve," "squeeze right," "no passing," "stop," "60 maximum," "go," "pull over," "yield," "switch off headlights," "do not blow horn." On top of all these injunctions

come the threats of calamities ahead: "avalanche," "slippery road," "school crossing," "falling rocks," "factory exit," "concealed side road," "fog," "major accident 1 kilometer ahead" (and one can see those sinister red lights blinking). It is impossible for the drivers

to avoid catastrophe if they miss their exit so they must watch for the signs: only one kilometer to go, slow down, only 500 meters, shift down, take care, right turn signal on, sharp bend, scissors motion with the feet, grip the steering wheel tight.

What remains of awareness must be directed towards the machinery: they must know where the distributor is, be prepared to get their hands covered with grease changing a spark plug, be able to use a jack and wrench to change a tire, to clean a windshield that is sticky with the entrails of mosquitoes and moths. An eight hour trip leaves them with shaky legs. Their expression is set, they are drooping with fatigue, their nostrils have gone dry in the tepid, polluted air, which is often laden with stifling smells of plastic, benzine, and burnt rubber. The intersections are maddening, the curves irritating, the trees along the roads pillories. The countryside doesn't matter—they can't see it, anyway. Grey as tombs and smooth as billiard tables, the freeways asphyxiate meadows, woods, even villages. Each section of the road means the death of a thousand trees. The French Autoroute A-86, in the Yvelines, cost four hundred hectares of forest.

Each lineup of cars, each traffic jam spells irritation, anger, impotent powerless rage. The horn blasts seem to multiply all by themselves; the driver's lungs fill with benzopyrene from the car ahead, which is going flat out but still seems impatient. In New York and Los Angeles during the evening rush hour, signs light up instructing drivers to switch off their engines: the air is becoming dangerous. Yet nothing discourages the craze for the automobile. Many attempts have been made in the United States to penalize the lone drivers; it costs them more to cross the Golden Gate Bridge, but they remain alone. The authorities in Osaka have considered making gas masks obligatory, but people would go on driving even if they had to wear scuba gear....

Not only does the automobile degrade everything and everybody, not only is it dirty, not only does it stink; it is also ugly in all its styles. A car's "beauty" is reckoned by its price, its speed,





Not only does the automobile degrade everything and everybody, not only is it dirty, not only does it stink; it is also ugly in all its styles. A car's "beauty" is reckoned by its price, its speed, and its comfort—in other words (in order) by cash, competition, and flash. As with "beautiful" refrigerators and "beautiful" washing machines, bad taste and charlatanny combine to give the machine exactly what the customer expects to find in it. They recall the excessive elegance of bygone days in an attempt to compensate for the gas gauges and all the bric-a-brac of extraterrestrial pseudotechnology. Thus, the assembly lines drip paint, solder, and chrome, turning out hundreds of thousands of mauve cabriolets, cabbage-green coupes, and violet sedans. But the ideal hidden beneath this disguise is always the rocket, the shell, the tank.

—from *The Eighth Night of Creation: Life on the Edge of Human History*, by Jerome Deshusses

As for automobiles, they come to reflect and sum up the marvels of consumption. They mirror a society without history, except when they are burning.

—Jean Baudrillard